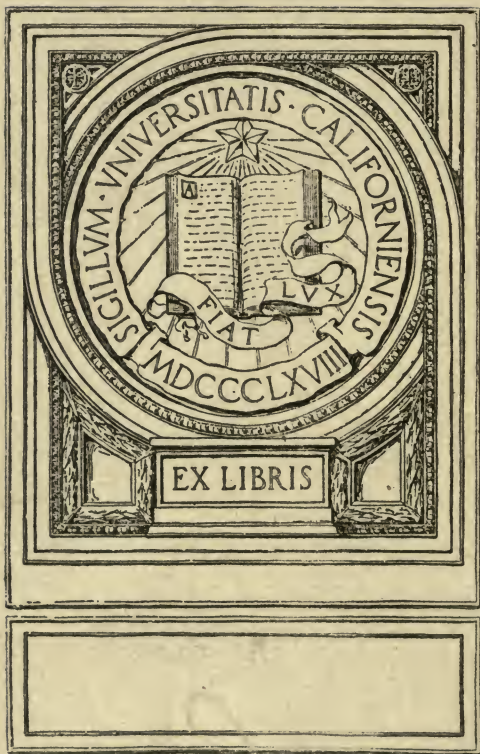


ITALIAN LEADERS
OF TO-DAY

HELEN ZIMMERN







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H.M. KING VICTOR EMANUEL III. OF ITALY

Photo Record Press

ITALIAN LEADERS OF TO-DAY

BY

HELEN ZIMMERN

AUTHOR OF

"THE HANSA TOWNS," "ITALY OF THE ITALIANS,"
ETC., ETC.

WITH SEVEN PORTRAITS



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FOREWORD

As I have repeatedly ventured to assert both in my *Italy of the Italians* and elsewhere, the Italy of to-day is too little known to the English, despite the fact that they cross her frontier in their thousands every year. They are intimately acquainted with the Italy of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries ; Dante, Botticelli, Michael Angelo, and many a lesser light are familiar as household words. After their day, however, comes a long gap in the traveller's historical knowledge until the names of Mazzini, Garibaldi, and the other heroes of the Risorgimento loom on the horizon ; the intervening centuries are as though they had never existed ! Then comes another blank. Of the men who are shaping the destinies of the Italy of to-day, of the influences which have made her what she is at

this great moment of her history, the majority know little or nothing. And yet this should not be, more especially since not only have Italy and England always been friends, bound together by ties of respect and affection, but they are now political allies; and we trust that once this cruel war is over they may not only remain allies, but become closer friends than ever. For Italy looks to England to take once more the place which Germany's up-to-date though none too scrupulous methods enabled her to usurp. Italy desires a commercial alliance which will benefit both nations, and if this hope is to be realised we must make ourselves familiar with the type of man who predominates in Italy to-day and with whom we have to reckon in the future. They are men of ability and of lofty character, as I trust these pages show: men not unworthy of our friendship and our co-operation; men abreast of modern thought and methods, no romantic heroes or moonlight brigands such as flit through the pages of certain novelists and poets who

have created an Italy widely remote from the reality. The twentieth-century Italian is neither the "dago" of American contempt nor the philanderer of the old-fashioned English novel. He may be and is enthusiastic, full of aspirations; but both these qualities rest on a solid foundation of rare common-sense and great ability, as is surely proved by Italy's conduct of her war with her traditional foe, Austria.

In preparing these pages I have to acknowledge the valuable help received from various kind Italian friends. My very special thanks are due to Doctor Orazio Pedrazzi, now fighting at the front, and to Ingegnere Piero Janer of the Florentine *Nuovo Giornale*, an economic expert and staunch friend of England. I have also to thank the *Fortnightly Review* for permitting me to reprint the articles originally published in its pages.

HELEN ZIMMERN.

PALAZZO BUONDELMONTI,
FLORENCE, *September 1915.*

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ITALIAN LEADERS OF TO-DAY

VICTOR EMANUEL III.
KING OF ITALY

THE second Victor Emanuel to sit upon the Italian throne follows worthily in the footsteps of his grandfather, the "Rè Galantuomo," as his grateful subjects named that sovereign of firm character and unswerving loyalty to his given word. To him Italy owed her political resurrection; to his grandson she will owe the consolidation of his policy, the unification of the country both spiritually and geographically. When Italy first became a kingdom, the patriot Massimo d'Azeglio remarked: "Italy is made; we must now make the Italians." This task has been accomplished under

Victor Emanuel III., and its completion is in large measure due to his enlightened views, his lofty, almost stern, sense of duty. He identifies himself with the country ; he understands its needs, its virtues, and its failings. Unlike his father, he is in touch with his people ; for Humbert, though physically a man of dauntless courage, was morally timid, and never broke through those barriers which keep monarchs from hearing the truth. His son, less easygoing, less weakly good-natured, never allowed them to fetter him. He not only will hear the truth, but he unearths it for himself. He trusts no second-hand reports, no matter who makes them ; the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth is what he is determined to have. When he succeeded to the throne, Italian public life had become much corrupted and the standard of Parliamentary morality profoundly lowered ; discontent, and even revolution, were in the air at the time of the assassination of King Humbert in the first year of the new century. Hence the murdered monarch

bequeathed a far weaker kingdom to his son than he himself had taken over from his father. Quietly, unobtrusively, and thoroughly Victor Emanuel had prepared himself for the task that sooner or later would be his, and, an affectionate son, he hoped and trusted as much later as might be. Few knew what he was really like, so much had he of set purpose kept in the background ; for, though disapproving of much that he saw, he was powerless to remedy it. As heir-apparent he could scarcely be called popular ; in fact, to the mass of the nation he was an unknown quantity, and speculation was rife as to his real nature and character, some even doubting his ability. Those who saw deeper saw more truly. Thus Queen Victoria, whose long experience had made her a keen observer and judge of character, pointed out the Prince of Naples as the most promising of all the heirs to European thrones. And time justified the old Queen's prophecy. With his accession a new and better era has dawned for Italy, and the great wave of hope which greeted his advent

has not been disappointed. Every day it may be said that the King reveals himself more capable, more efficient, so that he grows in the esteem and respect of his people as the years go by.

HIS CHILDHOOD

Victor Emanuel Maria Ferdinand Gennaro was born at Naples on November 11, 1869, and because of his birth under the glad southern sky was created Prince of Naples and given the name Gennaro in addition to the family patronymics, S. Gennaro (St Januarius) being the patron saint of the city of Naples. Queen Margherita herself superintended his babyhood in its every detail; he was to be healthily brought up, but from the first there was to be no needless luxury, no pampering. In this the Queen was ably seconded by an English governess, Miss Elizabeth Lee. The Queen wished him to imbibe Anglo-Saxon ideals of justice, duty, and obedience, as well as to acquire Anglo-Saxon habits as to the use of fresh air and cold water, not then the matters of course

in Italian nurseries that they have since become. How much he owes to his first governess, and how much he appreciates all she did for him, is proved by the fact that the King has from the first entrusted the care of his own little ones to English nurses and English governesses. This, too, is why he speaks English with such ease and correctness. As a small child the Prince was somewhat delicate, but the regular hours and healthful upbringing insisted on by his mother overcame this tendency to weakness. Unlike most Italian children, he was sent early to bed, was given simple food, and from the first accustomed to take physical exercise of the most varied kind. He soon showed that he had inherited his grandfather's energetic and self-willed disposition, rather than that of his yielding, easy-going father. Indeed, his childish escapades often landed him in trouble, for Queen Margherita allowed nothing to be passed over. She cared for him with loving inflexibility ; she realised what duties and trials awaited him in after life, and was resolved to do all in her power

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to steel him to meet them worthily. Anecdotes illustrating this attitude abound. Thus one day the Prince was playing with the little daughter of Queen Margherita's lady-in-waiting, Marchesa Villamarina, and in the course of their game the two children quarrelled. In his anger the Prince called out to his playmate: "When I am King, I shall have you beheaded!" whereupon Queen Margherita, who chanced to overhear these words, punished the Prince severely, putting him for three days on rations of bread and water.

He was encouraged to be tidy, to take great care of his toys and books, and even taught when quite young to keep accounts of his expenses and his pocket-money, as well as to write a diary. Every evening before going to bed he was trained to note down all that happened during the day concisely and graphically, and this habit he has kept up to this hour. This as a child he did in English or Italian, whichever language came most easily. As an instance of his meticulous precision in money matters it may be

mentioned that once, when he was only ten years old, his valet brought him a bill in which the items were noted in indecipherable calligraphy, and the child entered in his account book 65 centimes for an illegible expense !

At twelve years of age his education was taken out of feminine hands and a governor was chosen for him in the person of Colonel Osio. This man, a fine soldier and a member of the General Staff, who had fought the Austrians in 1859, 1860, and 1868, and followed the English expedition to Abyssinia, was a rigid disciplinarian of severe and inflexible character, coupled, fortunately, with imperturbable good-humour, a sterling quality which helped to render him attractive to his young pupil, who soon came to love and esteem him. When accepting the post of governor to the little Prince, this stern disciplinarian had stipulated that he should have a perfectly free hand to deal with his royal pupil as he thought best. The King and Queen consented to these terms, and Colonel Osio

assumed his office with the firm resolve to make a man of the Prince in every sense of the word, and not to let himself be influenced by the boy's rank in granting favours or indulgences. Colonel Osio was assisted in his difficult mission by Captain Morelli di Popolo, and one or other officer was always in attendance on the Prince at every hour of the day. Indeed, this lack of liberty, and the severity of the routine marked out for him, was even then experienced by the Prince as somewhat of a burden, and he resolved that when he should have children of his own they should have a freer, more joyous, and less strenuous childhood than his own—a resolve he has kept. In all Italy there can be no happier children than the young Princes of Savoy, early taught to think for others, to fulfil the duties of their high rank, but at the same time permitted the careless joys and games of merry childhood. Moreover, there are five of them, while the Prince of Naples was all alone, with only grown-ups to keep him company.

This is the routine planned for the Royal

boy :—At six, summer or winter, he had to get up, and after a cold bath and a cup of tea, coffee, or bouillon he had to be in the schoolroom at seven. It is said that if he was lazy and allowed himself a few minutes longer in bed, it was his breakfast, not his cold bath, that was skipped. At seven he had an Italian lesson from Professor Morandi, who has left a written account of his pupil's school programme. He tells how when called to the post the stern Colonel Osio laid down the rules to be followed—rules which had to be most scrupulously kept, for any neglect of them would have brought down the governor's wrath upon him. He laid the greatest stress on the point that the Prince must be treated like any other boy and not have the slightest deference paid him on account of his rank. If, for instance, during the lesson something was needed, it is the Prince, not the professor, who must fetch it ; if a book or a paper should fall on the floor, the Prince must pick it up. He begged the professor to play upon the Prince's highly developed

amour propre to exact from him always the strictest fulfilment of his duties. Professor Morandi remembers how on one occasion when the governor reproved the Prince in his presence for some fault, he wound up with the words: "And remember that the son of a king or the son of a cobbler, when he is an *ass*, is an *ass*." Whereupon the governor turned on his spurred heel and slammed the door behind him. The schoolroom appointments were of the simplest: an armchair for the professor, a common high chair for the pupil; no luxury, no pandering to comfort.

An anecdote will serve to show how early the Prince learnt to reserve his judgments. Asked by the Queen after Professor Morandi's first lesson how he liked his new master, he replied with some deliberation: "He seems to be a very good man, but I cannot really judge until I have had a few more lessons."

After his Italian lesson the Prince went for a ride with his two tutors and a riding-master, no matter what the weather might

be. And this even if he were suffering, as was often the case in his childhood, from heavy colds in his head. One winter's morning, when the weather was unusually bad and the Prince's cold very heavy, Professor Morandi ventured to suggest to Colonel Osio that perhaps it might be more prudent to keep him indoors that day.

“And if there were a war to-morrow,” replied the stern preceptor, “would the Prince not mount his horse because he had a cold?” It happened that the doctor who had been called in overheard the remark. His comment was: “With these soldiers you cannot reason.” After his ride the Prince returned to the schoolroom and resumed his lessons. His meals were shared with his two tutors except on Thursdays, when he lunched, and Sundays, when he dined, with his parents. On one occasion—the Prince himself is authority for the anecdote—the lunch hour was well past, the King having been detained signing decrees for his Ministers. “I was hungry and could wait no longer; I told the Queen,

and do you know what she did? She took down a *Divina Commedia*, opened the canto about Count Ugolino, and said to me, 'Read that and your hunger will pass.' "

Except during meals and the very short intervals for recreation, which was often also of an instructive and educative character, the Prince's day was entirely devoted to his studies and to outdoor exercises, such as fencing, gymnastics, the Italian game of pallone—in a word, all that could increase his physical vigour, the whole scheme being planned on the most scientific and hygienic principles so that the boy might be developed to the utmost both mentally and physically.

An idea of what was exacted of him is furnished by the list of his masters and the subjects taught by them. These included universal history, military history and theory, geography, mathematics, topography, knowledge of gunnery and fortification, weapons, military rules and exercises, civil and military law, religion, philosophy, physics, chemistry, political economy, natural history, cosmo-

graphy, the Italian, Latin, French, and English languages and literature, figure and landscape drawing, water-colour painting, perspective, history of art and music. Later, to all this was added the German language and literature.

It will be seen from the number and variety of the studies that the programme was based on the theory that a perfect education consists in some knowledge of everything. Admitted that there is some exaggeration in this formula, it happened, restricted within reasonable limits, to be well suited to the peculiar disposition of the present King, whose intellectual curiosity ranges naturally over a wide field. Nor must it be erroneously inferred that his knowledge of these various subjects is superficial; as a Dante scholar alone he would be distinguished. What has further aided him is his remarkable memory for names dates, events, etc. As a boy his favourite studies were mathematics, military sciences, history, geography; fencing and riding were his favourite sports, and he early

became an accomplished horseman. Music had no attractions for him; in this he resembles his father and grandfather, while his mother, like his wife, Queen Elena, is devoted to this art. Victor Emanuel the elder always said: "As for music, I only understand that made by the cannon"; and Humbert called it "a noise." The Prince of Naples constantly excused himself to his music mistress for caring so little for the art to which she had devoted her life, but added: "Don't you think that twenty trumpets produce more effect than your piano?" He was fond of talking to his music mistress, but when he heard the Queen's step approaching he would say: "Quick! let us play, here is mamma," for, despite his love for his mother, he was always a little in awe of her. He confessed that when she examined him he grew nervous and made silly replies. For some time he was in the habit of making spelling mistakes in his otherwise grammatically correct compositions, perhaps because English, not Italian, was his first language. This failing greatly irritated

Colonel Osio, who often told him that "one of these mistakes is enough to discredit a man." The defect was overcome by perseverance and good-will, but even so the inexorable governor was not satisfied, as he thought the essays poor in form and lacking in ideas. Complaining to Professor Morandi one day, he remarked: "How is it that with so much ability our Prince has so little imagination?" To which Morandi replied: "For his profession imagination is not a necessary quality."

Truly nothing was omitted in the Prince's Spartan training. Every year he was taken to Venice for sea bathing, that he might become a good swimmer. When the Court moved to the mountains, shooting and chamois-stalking were added to his accomplishments, as well as mountain climbing, a necessary part of the latter sport. He early became a skilful fisherman, and to this day fishing and shooting are his favourite sports, as well as wild-boar hunting, which he enjoys on his estate of Castel Porziano near Rome.

An accomplishment he never could master was dancing ; in this, too, he resembled his father and grandfather and differed from his graceful mother. It is really comic, except for his partner, to see him step through a state quadrille.

Holidays were almost unknown quantities. One day at Christmas, another at New Year, and none at Easter were supposed to suffice. At the end of every year he was put through a searching examination by his tutors in the presence of his parents, the War Minister, and other officials. He has admitted since that these occasions were a great ordeal to him. Before the first examination took place the young Prince said to his tutor : " If I come out badly, there will be nothing for it but to throw myself out of the window."

Nominally the summer brought three months' vacation, but even then he was not allowed to be idle. When travelling or going on excursions he had to note down and comment on all he saw ; and this, as he once sadly remarked, "poisoned all his

amusements.” It is really remarkable, seeing how closely his time was mapped out, that he still managed like other boys to collect something. His particular fancy was for coins and medals, and he then laid the foundation of his world-famed collection. A favourite earlier recreation, permitted and indeed encouraged by his severe preceptor, was the construction in the royal gardens of miniature fortifications, canals, trenches, lakes, and rivers, which were supplied with water from hydraulic wheels which he himself had planned. A graceful anecdote shows that Colonel Osio, despite his strictness, had yet succeeded in gaining his pupil’s affection. It was during the last months of the Prince’s school life, and he was taking a lesson, his tutor as usual being in the room. To the teacher’s surprise, the Prince, generally so attentive, kept looking at his watch. “Is he bored?” thought the professor. But suddenly the Prince sprang up, ran to his stern governor, who sat apart reading, and embraced and kissed him. Then turning to the teacher, he said: “See, at this

moment just seven years ago the Colonel was presented to me."

The incident redounds to the honour of both master and pupil.

HIS YOUTH

When the Prince's school days were at an end, his governor wrote to a general who had shared in the Prince's military education that he felt assured that his pupil was prepared "to fight the battle of life in his special position with a resolute soul, a clear and precise conception of his duties, and a lofty comprehension of his difficult and important mission."

To complete his education, the Prince, like most of his class, was sent on distant journeys, on which he was accompanied by his faithful preceptors. He visited Switzerland, and even had Alpine adventures. He was sent to study all the famous battle-fields of the Franco-Prussian war; he visited Germany, Holland, Denmark, England, and pushed as far north as Lapland. After 1887 his voyages took him to the East, and

included Malta, Egypt, Palestine, Greece, the Balkans, the Crimea, Petrograd, and Moscow. Of all these journeys he wrote detailed accounts, but he kept them private instead of rushing into print like other Crown Princes, who have published books that probably owe next to nothing to their own pens. An intimate of the Italian Court once said : "Few persons have had the good fortune to see these MSS., but the few privileged ones who have dipped into them (and they include good judges) consider these notes as of real value, both for the originality of their perceptions, the soundness of their appreciations, and the just criticisms regarding the future of the countries visited."

Pressed by Professor Morandi, to whom he showed his notes and photographs, to give them to the world, the Prince replied : "No, I could not tell the full truth ; therefore I shall not publish them."

Mlle. Hélène Vacaresco, the Roumanian poetess, the close friend of Roumania's widowed Queen, Carmen Sylva, in a private

letter wrote as follows of the young Prince as she had known him before his accession to the throne :—

“It happened that I often saw and met King Victor Emanuel III. during his travels in Roumania when he was touring Europe to complete an education of which the remarkable results are already manifest. Endowed with an exceptionally able intelligence, the young Prince brought to every subject presented to him a lively curiosity and a desire for true and thorough knowledge. His mind is quick and versatile, with just a touch of malice, which however he keeps within bounds, never allowing it to pass the borders of kindness. Athwart the diversity of opinions and impressions that he expresses, his character of steel stands out straight and upright as a lance. He judges men and situations with precision. His *coup d'œil* has the cleaving and living swiftness of a scalpel's cut. His enthusiasms, even those which seem the most spontaneous, are the result of a reflection the rapidity of which is disconcerting. He talks well about the

countries he has visited, and "to learn" and "to teach" are his favourite verbs. He ranges places, faces, incidents on the plane that suits them. His speech, somewhat guttural and husky at first, warms with the flight of his thoughts, becoming free and vigorous; it flourishes best on Italian soil, and rises to unexpected power when his favourite themes, the Motherland and the Army, are dealt with. Intimately acquainted with all that concerns the noble land where he reigns to-day, he has for his house and the person who represents it a deep veneration, embracing the grandeur of its magnificent past and all the mysterious beauty of a tradition. His soul, too full, too restless, to waste itself on sentiments other than his intense love for Italy, becomes tender when the image of King Humbert or the Queen is evoked. The love that unites mother and son is of a peculiarly striking nature. For Victor Emanuel, as for most of his subjects, the golden-haired Queen is the symbol of her race and of young and ardent Italy. Of the house of Savoy by

birth and by marriage, she has bestowed on him blood which flows in unwearying rhythms of the holiest and proudest aspirations. He always considers how he can please her, and tries with all his might to realise the ideal she dreams for him. When he is absent from her, he sends her daily copies of his diary, the exact reflection of all that passes around and within him. With him Italy is in good and vigorous hands, and her King will justify d'Annunzio's admirable ode. He will be a true King, and yet more 'the young man comes from the sea.' He will be like the kings of romance whose heroic souls poured down upon their people the milk of wisdom."

A lover of the sea, an enthusiastic yachtsman, and early trained with a view to the navy, the Prince chose rather to devote himself to the army, adopting a military career in its most democratic branch, the infantry, and worked so hard that he quickly rose from captain to the command of an army corps at Naples. During the two years he resided there the local

aristocracy tried all in their power to lure the quiet, almost ascetic Royal soldier from his military duties, but with scant success, even if he joined in some of the festivities given in his honour. Both his superior officers and his men recall with admiration the indefatigable zeal, the rigid severity, but also the tact and courtesy, with which he fulfilled his duties. The Prince was next appointed to a command at Florence, a residence he preferred. It was quieter and more suited to his temperament, he was less observed and less fêted, and he found there very intimate and congenial friends. It was while quartered at Florence that the Prince of Naples for the first and only time broke through his self-imposed rule not to meddle in public affairs, though he must have grasped how the King's weakness and the incapacity of his Ministers were compromising and even endangering the Crown. When the ambitious improvidence of Crispi led the Italian soldiery to the dire defeat of Adowa, the Prince on receiving the news, without applying to his military superiors for

leave, left Florence and arrived unexpectedly in Rome, and in his father's presence roundly abused the hapless Crispi, reproaching him with the disaster and not sparing him yet other strictures on his policy. For this breach of military discipline the King placed his son under arrest. This punishment, however, the Prince had so frequently had to endure at his father's hands that it did not daunt him. It gave him time to meditate deeply, to ponder plans of campaign, to study history, and to devote himself to his coins.

After this Adowa outbreak, however, in which the Prince had the secret sympathy and approval of all Italy, he speedily re-entered the seclusion and silence from which he had emerged in a moment of overwhelming disgust. By doing so he not only acted as an obedient and affectionate son, but took the stand of a man who intended to keep his hands free to act in his own way on the day when he should be called on by the course of events to rule over Italy.

HIS MARRIAGE

Victor Emanuel has ever retained an affection for the city of Dante, and it was within her walls that he elected to spend his honeymoon. For at this epoch the Prince had fallen in love, and, not having like too many young men frittered away his affections, it was evident that when he loved, it would be with all his heart and soul. Speculation had long been rife as to his probable consort, but none of the princesses proposed attracted him, and, as he told his parents, he was resolved that his heart alone, not political considerations, should decide as to his future wife. In 1895, at the International Exhibition of Venice, the Prince met the woman who was and is for him his soul's mate, in the person of Princess Elena, daughter of the Prince, now King, of the minute Principality of Montenegro. She belonged to a family and a race noted for their courage and intrepidity, their absence of conventionality, their physical health; and the Princess

herself possessed all the civic virtues that distinguish her race. Brought up very simply, used to a plain, homely existence, she was the ideal wife for Victor Emanuel, as he quickly recognised. There was some opposition at first, based on political reasons, to the proposed match, but the Prince would not listen. He told his parents that he would marry Elena or no one. Fortunately King Humbert came to side with his son, declaring that he approved his choice. "The House of Montenegro," he said, "like my own, is synonymous with liberty." So the next year the Prince boarded his yacht and landed at Antivari to make a formal request for the hand of his beloved. The engagement was intimated to all the European Courts, and in October 1896 the Royal Italian yacht, accompanied by a section of the fleet, carried the Princess to Bari, where the Prince met her, and where she had to abjure the Greek Catholic faith and profess her adherence to the Roman Church. Then on to Rome, where she was married both civilly and ecclesiastically,

an event announced by the flight of five hundred pigeons to all the ends of Italy.

It was in the private, secluded portion of the stately Palazzo Pitti in Florence that the first years of their married life were spent, varied by yachting excursions, and by motor tours through the land—for the Prince early became an enthusiastic and able chauffeur,—or by the free life of huntsmen in the simple shooting-box on the island of Monte Cristo (immortalised in the famous novel by Dumas), which the Prince had bought, as his wife's health suffered at first in the more enervating climate of Italy. In those early years the Princess was scarcely popular. She was too retiring for Italian taste; like her husband, she dislikes all show and pomp; their life was too purely domestic; and, worst of all, for long there were no children. But the Prince knew how to value his wife; she became his right hand, his joy and his comfort. And fortunately the nation too has come to know and value her, and no one is more beloved and respected to-day in Italy than Queen

Elena. Her boundless charities, her quiet wisdom, her organising talents, the fact that she never meddles with politics, and, last but not least, her splendid, healthy children, are a source of joy and pride to the people.

Victor Emanuel has always professed a profound and rooted antipathy to all feminist aspirations and movements, and insists that his consort shall keep aloof from any manifestations of sympathy with them. But since no human being is strictly logical, it is amusing to note that he never makes any decision without consulting the Queen. In the early morning, when he studies the Ministerial reports, he insists that she shall sit beside him, which she does, quietly embroidering, never speaking except when addressed, and giving her views in the fewest possible words—views that are almost always adopted.

A happy four years did the Prince and Princess of Naples pass before the catastrophe befell that brought them to the throne. They were yachting among the Greek islands at the time, and it was not easy to

find them. Telegraphic and semaphore messages were sent far and wide, the swiftest torpedo-boats despatched to search for the Prince, but it was two days before they found him. The messages had been purposely toned down to spare the young King the full shock ; but when his yacht caught up the semaphore of Cape Spartivento, which ran, "The King is seriously ill," his mind misgave him. Soon after he met a torpedo-boat with its flag half-mast high, and knew that the worst had happened. His uncle, the Duke of Genoa (now Regent during the King's absence at the front), had been told off to meet him and relate the full details. Those who were present tell how the young King was truly prostrated with grief. It was a long journey from Reggio in the July heat to Monza, where lay his assassinated father, and the mental agony he then endured aged him visibly. And when he met his widowed mother, even his fortitude broke down, and those who witnessed the scene describe it as heart-rending. Still, he could not nurse his

feelings for long. Stern duty called him : the late King's body had to be taken to Rome ; he had to appear at the public funeral ; the Ministers were awaiting his orders and his signatures. Then came into evidence the careful training he had received in self-control, in unflinching devotion to duty. Victor Emanuel pulled himself together, and in a brief time revealed to the nation what manner of man he really was, what manner of King he meant to be. His attitude was a revelation. Amid the great depression caused by the murder and all it politically signified and made manifest, it was the young King alone who found the brave words that should restore energy and courage to his people. Although deeply wounded in his filial affection, he put his own sorrow aside and placed his country's welfare before his own grief. The day after his return he wrote out his first proclamation to the nation ; and when the following morning the then Premier submitted to him a draft speech which he had prepared, to spare his august master this

task at such an hour, the King returned the paper with the words : "I thank you for your advice and your help, but I have already provided for this myself."

An admirable document is this address, which revealed to the Italian nation for the first time the true character, the aims and ideals, of their new sovereign. It is touching in its dignified grief, which he knew the people shared ; it is calm and proud in its affirmation of patriotism, its solemn assurance that nothing should cause him to swerve from the road his ancestors had traced out. There were no empty phrases, no rhetoric, no exaggerated expressions of indignation at the crime committed. It ended with the quiet and dignified words :

"This is my profession of faith ; such are my ideals as citizen and as King. Written at Monza, August 2nd, 1900."

Nine days later the sovereign had to take the oath of fidelity to the Constitution before the united Chambers. This time again, contrary to custom, he had composed and written out with his own hand his opening

speech, so that even the Ministers did not know its contents. His words came as a surprise. No conventional phraseology, no bombastic emphasis, no assumption of Divine collaboration. It was the speech of a man who thus intimated that he would not be strictly bound by the past, by tradition, that he was ready to take up a man's burden and resolved to restore the sorely shaken structure of Italian political life. No wonder the speech amazed its hearers, but also aroused their enthusiasm, an enthusiasm which echoed throughout the land. Italy had a King indeed ; one who in his long years of seclusion had pondered his lofty mission, and, now that the time was come to carry it out, was ready for the task.

“ I grasp,” said the King a few days after his accession, “ the full weight of my task, and I do not presume to believe that I, all alone, can remedy the present difficulties. But I am convinced that all these difficulties spring from the same source. In Italy few citizens do their duty ; from the highest to the lowest, *laissez faire* and laxity prevail.

Now, it is to the accomplishment of their several duties that all without distinction must be called. I begin with myself, and am trying to do my duty conscientiously and with love. My Ministers must help me. They must not promise anything except what they can certainly perform, they must not create illusions. Whoever fulfils his duty, braving every danger, even death, I shall consider the best citizen."

And his Ministers soon saw that these were no idle phrases. Thus he frankly forbade them to spend their evenings at the café or the club, giving them to understand that, since the work demanded of them was great, they should not be able to find time to waste in such frivolous diversions.

He had yet other surprises in store for them. Thus, when the then Premier, Saracco, for the first time brought him the decrees to sign, he began to read them attentively and also to criticise them. The Premier was astonished and nettled, since Humbert had meekly signed everything laid before him. A Cabinet crisis nearly

occurred in consequence. The matter was settled by the King's decision that all Ministerial projects should be submitted to him two or three days before their discussion in the Council, and also that he should be previously consulted. Even so, he never signs a paper unread. And yet another innovation. The Minister-in-charge had to bring him the documents every Thursday and Sunday morning at 8 a.m., and, although Italians are early risers, these elderly gentlemen did not specially care to get into frock-coats and tall hats at these matutinal hours.

Accustomed from childhood to find out for himself the truth of things, Victor Emanuel after coming to the throne began to make surprise visits to schools, hospitals, barracks, in all parts of the country, and at all sorts of unlikely hours, where his motor, driven by himself, quickly brought him. Whenever he found anything wrong, he either reprimanded in a few cutting words, or, what some aver was still harder to bear, by a dead silence in reply to all excuses.

He made it known that no subordinates who had cause for complaint would be punished by their superiors if they had addressed themselves direct to their sovereign.

These surprise excursions of his are the despair of his private police. He detests their supervision and ever tries to evade it. He also despises all empty formalities, and has no patience with useless chatter or conventional phrases. Thus, on one occasion, in reply to a fulsome public address, when a return speech was expected from him, to everyone's dismay he merely pronounced a curt "Thank you." When an obsequious functionary remarked after the earthquake at Messina how much the presence of the King and Queen must have relieved the people's sufferings, Victor Emanuel impatiently made answer, "Don't talk nonsense." He has a horror of all interviews and of all publicity. He holds that his private life is his own, quite as much as his public life belongs to his people. In his home everything is on the simplest footing. He and his Queen at once curtailed all merely

futile expenditure, reduced the length of the meals, the number of servants and receptions, and other needless expenses, thus being able to afford more money for their charities, which they dispense with no niggard hand. No sovereign gives such large sums to all good objects as Victor Emanuel ; his purse has no strings, his heart no boundaries, where suffering can be alleviated. Nor do the Royal couple grudge to give personal service. In all catastrophes that befall the land they are the first on the spot, to nurse and advise and help. They do not think their mere presence suffices. And it is all done without ostentation, and as far as possible anonymously. Woe to the official who would waste time with bows and compliments if a sufferer is to be aided ; to the soldier at the front who, recognising his monarch, pauses in some pressing piece of work to stand at attention ! Like Solomon, Victor Emanuel thinks there is an appropriate and an inappropriate time. Indeed, the incidents recorded of the King's deeds at the front already fill a volume.

He seems ubiquitous : on foot, on horse-back, in his motor, he traverses some hundreds of miles daily, and is always turning up at most unlikely places and moments. As throughout his life, he defies danger ; he encourages, he assists, he observes, but never does he interfere with what General Cadorna has commanded. He is often present at the councils of the General Staff, but what is decided on there he adheres to as rigidly as the meanest of his soldiers. He sends out no official telegrams, he leaves it to Cadorna to inform the nation, he does not take to himself credit for the result of other men's labours, nor does he regard himself as the partner of the Deity. God is in his heart, but His name is never on his lips. He visits and comforts the wounded, he shares his frugal meals with his men, even to defrauding himself so completely that he has had to beg a piece of bread to stay his hunger. He fears neither wet, nor heat, nor cold, nor shells. He goes about unaccompanied, he is not surrounded with aerial and terrestrial guards

like his German cousin, nor again does he stay well away from the danger zone. On the contrary, he seeks it almost too rashly. Of all the villas placed at his disposal for his headquarters he chose the most modest, and for long his neighbours did not know who lodged beside them. For he dresses in the simplest way—a grey-green uniform with no signs of rank ; and from his dust-coloured car he has carefully removed all Royal insignia. A democrat in peace, he is still more so in war ; and if his people respected and esteemed him before, they now adore him, and never was the House of Savoy more firmly rooted in the hearts of the nation.

THE NUMISMATIST

From the boyish fancy for collecting coins and medals it has come about that the King of Italy is to-day considered a leading numismatist—indeed, unsurpassed in that branch to which he has devoted himself ; and his advice and opinion are sought by experts all the world over. He himself tells how

the hobby began : "I was but a youngster when by chance I came across a soldo with the effigy of Pius IX., and I kept it. Then I found another and put it with the first, and after a bit I managed to collect about fifteen pieces of different kinds. Then the King, my father, gave me sixty pieces of copper money, and thus I made the nucleus of my future collection."

This fancy of his having become known, coins were presented to him by his relations on special occasions, so that when he was fourteen he owned over three thousand specimens in coins, tokens, and medals. About this time he mentioned to Professor Morandi how much he found the arranging and collecting of these coins helped him in his historical studies, for he had to verify dates and look up events. As time passed, the collection increased in size and importance, whereupon the Prince feared it might grow confused and amorphous, because of the great variety of epochs and countries. He therefore decided to confine himself to the products of Italian mints, both mediæval

and modern, as only thus could he hope to bring together a really useful and valuable collection. Of this collection he is now giving a catalogue to the world, entitled *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, of which at present four large folio volumes have been issued, the proceeds of the sales being devoted to certain charities specified by the King. It is the first attempt of its kind to classify coins struck in Italy or by Italians in other lands, and is illustrated by photographs, reproductions of the obverse and reverse of each piece ; while to elucidate them more fully there are shown specimens from other collections, especially those which are lacking or imperfectly represented in the Royal collection. And every particular, bibliographical or technical, is supplied, the origin and explanation of every legend and motto ; nothing is too minute to be recorded. It is, in short, a monumental work, to which the King has devoted and devotes his few spare hours. Queen Elena shares his interest, and so too does the Queen-Mother ; and there is nothing the King finds more

restful than to retire for a while from the cares of State to his numismatic cabinets.

VICTOR EMANUEL AS A POLITICIAN

It was no easy task which confronted Victor Emanuel on his accession. Under King Humbert's easygoing rule place-hunters and time-servers had obtained the upper hand in the Government ; corruption and slackness were rife in all public departments ; and discontent and even anarchy were abroad. The King recognised that a thorough change of front was needful ; but how to effect it with the men at his command ? He knew he must act warily, cautiously, and above all strictly constitutionally. Still, he at once gave evidence of his democratic leanings when deciding on his first Ministry. He publicly stated, "My intention is to govern with the people for the people" ; and when warned that this might encourage Socialism, he said, "I have no fear of it ; and, in fact, a Socialist might belong to one of my Cabinets"—words that came true later on when he

invited Bissolati to become Minister, an offer only declined because of some petty question of dress ceremonial to which Bissolati would not submit and which the King would have waived had his Ministers been willing. Why he so long tolerated the presence of Giolitti only later-history will show ; but that he did not let himself be dominated even by this domineering personality he proved in those memorable May days of 1915 when Giolitti would have betrayed his country to the German intriguers. And that he did not intend to be chained by the Triple Alliance he demonstrated early in his reign when paying his official visits to the European Courts, on which occasion he went to Petrograd before calling on his German ally.

In winter the Italian Royal family resides in Rome, as the King's presence at the seat of government is necessary ; but though his official residence is the Quirinal, once a papal palace, he only uses it for the rare and inevitable receptions, and resides instead in a modest house in the grounds. Of late

the Royal couple are often at Villa Ada, just outside the gates—a small house the King has bought, and which has a large garden where the children can play unchecked. Of the many Royal residences at their disposal they practically inhabit none. Monza, Caserta, Palazzo Pitti, are deserted. Their favourite resorts are Castel Porziano near Ostia, where there is good hunting for the King and archæological excavations for the Queen ; or S. Rossore near Pisa, on the sea-shore, the most modest of abodes ; or Racconigi in Piedmont, also a small house, which offers mountain air and climbing, as well as trout-fishing, another of the Queen's favourite recreations. To Monte Cristo they now go less often, as the house there has grown too small for the increased family, and also because it is too dependent on winds and tides for access. A King must be within easy reach.

Such in broad outline is Victor Emanuel, model sovereign, soldier, husband, and father. May that come true which a Brahman prophesied on his accession : that

during his reign Italy would acquire new splendour, would see her political influence and her territory augmented, and that the King would live to the age of eighty-three and celebrate his jubilee in 1950 !

ANTONIO SALANDRA, THE ITALIAN PREMIER

To those not in the innermost circle of things political, the sudden prominence of Antonio Salandra, and still more his power of frustrating the intrigues and cabals engineered against him by the "clients" of Giolitti, who had urged his appointment as a temporary diversion of public discontent with his own policy, came as a veritable surprise. Those who knew were less astonished, though even they were unprepared for Salandra's firm though unobtrusive grip. This is the man who governs Italy with the enthusiastic consent of the whole nation, accorded to him in a remarkable popular demonstration in the troublous days of early May, and on him the nation has imposed its will that Italy

should take part in the great European struggle. Aged but little over sixty, florid and robust in appearance, energetic, frank, and good-natured, courteous and gentle of speech, we should be inclined to put him down as a gentleman farmer of good stock. He puts on no airs, has no pretensions, and never poses as being anything out of the common ; hence it is at first sight difficult to realise that we have to do with the greatest statesman Italy has produced since Cavour and Francesco Crispi. On this account, too, the Italian people love him, for Antonio Salandra personifies the best qualities of the nation : strength without arrogance, audacity without provocative contempt, subtlety without malignity. The Italians are a people of industrious and frugal burghers, and Antonio Salandra is their worthy interpreter ; for Italy, though not infected by imperialist mania, is nevertheless passing through an ascensional period of her history, her sons recognise that it is their duty to be on the alert, and Salandra in the great world-crisis knew how



ANTONIO SALANDRA
Italian Premier

Photo Central News

to reconcile the utility of honest neutrality at the beginning of the war with the open intervention of to-day on the side of the Triple Entente. In all this he has interpreted the soul of the nation, making it throb with unanticipated pride and vitality.

HIS ORIGIN

He entered political life from the district known from ancient times as "le Puglie assetate." Now, if there be in Italy a region full of wonderful latent vitality, it is Apulia ; unfortunately, hitherto the means of giving expression to this vitality have been lacking. Only within the last few years has the long-promised, long-worked-on aqueduct begun to distribute its waters to Apulian agriculture and industry. Until then the region developed but slowly, and was indeed almost deserted, because the Motherland had treated this corner of Italian earth with cruel neglect. The peculiar conditions of Apulia have also influenced the character and political temperament of its inhabitants and of their leaders, who have attained political power

1. after a solid and careful preparation, because
the regional problems included not only the
question of the South, that burning and
unsolved difficulty of the Italian Government,
but also the whole home and foreign policy
of Italy with regard to the Adriatic. None
2) of the sons of Apulia entered office better
prepared than Antonio Salandra, for he had
specialised as a professor of administrative
law, and finally taught for many years at
the University of Rome. As professor he
never became a celebrity; his name never
figured among those most quoted; his
lectures were not eagerly attended; his
language was grave, rather professorial, and
was pronounced dull. A volume of his
speeches and essays just published (Laterza
Bari, 1915) contains nothing suggestive
of genius, no spark of that fire which
inflames and rouses youth to enthusiasm.
The truth is that Antonio Salandra was not
born to be a professor: his is a political
temperament; the Chamber rather than
the cathedra arouses his passion. The
study of law was to him only a solid basis

for the parliamentary combats into which he threw himself with ardour when his native city of Lucera elected him as its deputy.

Born at the close of the national Risorgimento, he entered political life at a depressed moment, when Italy was still scarcely welded into moral unity and was economically exhausted, when the body-politic oscillated between the various self-seeking factions and treacherous demagogic airs began to stir. Like all countries whose political formation is new, Italy passed through her crisis led by Governments which brought parliamentary intrigues and individual ambitions to bear against firm administrative authority and the organic development of the State. Divergent parties sought to win the favour of the multitude and the facile applause of the populace, advocating a lax, feeble, time-serving policy, founded solely on concessions and compromises.

THE CONSERVATIVE

It was at such a depressed moment in the national life that Antonio Salandra entered

the Chamber, and he did so as a Conservative. There had recently arisen in the ranks of the constitutional parties a small but strong faction, holding clear and decided political opinions, and prepared to sacrifice individual popularity to the general good and to revive in Italy that spirit of discipline and of collective duty which had grown weak and nerveless. The leader of this party was the present Minister for Foreign Affairs, Baron Sidney Sonnino, and with him Antonio Salandra associated himself, becoming one of the strongest supporters of the group. At this period the Governments of the Left which succeeded each other were all, with the sole exception of the one presided over by Crispi, led by Ministers with programmes entirely devoted to internal questions, devoid of vaster horizons and higher ideals. Meantime the Sonnino-Salandra group, which was known as the "party of Constitutional opposition," fought ardently to vanquish political degeneracy and to uphold the banner of established authority. Their purifying influence became ever more need-

ful when the phenomenon called *Giolittismo*, after its unscrupulous originator, began to dominate both the Chamber and the country. For over ten years this man Giolitti held the reins of government, slowly corroding and sapping the fibres of the State, permeating all the branches of the public service with favouritism, acquiescing in demagogic agitations, in anti-clericalism, in the appropriation of State and public offices by greedy, ignorant, and irresponsible persons.

It was at this period that the Sonnino-Salandra group fought epic parliamentary battles on behalf of the morality and authority of the State. They were in the minority, it is true; nevertheless, the country admired and venerated the austere bearing of men who refused to take office, in order to defend and vindicate the rights of the nation—men who in the midst of the general depression rose above factions and calmly debated every burning question with studied and weighty argument, devoid of personalities and personal ambitions. And how many, many battles

were they called upon to fight ! To peruse the volume just published by Salandra, called *La politica nazionale ed il partito liberale*, in which the Premier has collected his most important parliamentary and election speeches, is to relive the historic moments of Italian public life during the last two decades. Thus, when dealing with the question of the South, Salandra, who was profoundly acquainted with its problems, its needs, and its evils, advocated a policy of austere justice, of impartiality, and of labour in order to overthrow the Camorra constituted of small groups of wealthy men who dominated to the injury of the mistrustful and incensed populace. On the religious question Salandra is pronouncedly in favour of the sovereignty of the State over every form of belief, but at the same time he is opposed to anti-clerical or sectarian persecution. In matters of political economy he preaches the middle course between protection and free trade. He opposed the extension of the franchise, not on anti-liberal grounds, but because he held that by bestowing it unasked the people were

deprived of a stimulus to the improvement of their mental status.

THE LIBERAL

Salandra is a Conservative but also a Liberal. He inherited the fundamental conceptions of a State from Cavour, and he followed Cavour above all in his criteria of integrity ; but he seems more Conservative than he really is, for he interprets Liberalism as a strengthening of the State, and not as a weakening of public power under popular pressure. If he was disposed to yield where he thought it right, he was never disposed to abdicate, as was Giolitti's invariable manœuvre. He so thoroughly grasped, however, the exigencies of the new times, that occasionally he even detached himself from Sonnino, following audaciously Liberal directions, although on general lines he has always followed Sonnino, and was a member of each of his Cabinets (1906 and 1910).

Up to these dates, however, Salandra always took a secondary place beside his natural leader Sidney Sonnino. He himself recog-

nised Sonnino as the chief of the group, to be followed with his rigid sense of discipline. After Sonnino's two brief terms of office, however, Italy began to recognise that of the two men Salandra was better adapted to uphold a Government, seeing that by temperament he was more combative, more agile, and more alert. Sonnino, who is truly remarkable as an economist, is better fitted for the rôle of Minister for Foreign Affairs or Minister of Finance than for that of Premier. Antonio Salandra, on the other hand, wide-awake and pugnacious, was better able to resist parliamentary cabals and intrigues with success, and to navigate the ship of State between the insidious rocks of the Parliament Hall. The Italian Chamber, after Giolitti's long administration, was not divided into sharply outlined parties like the parliaments of some other nations, but was governed by the "clients" of Giolitti, who wormed their way into each party and faction, and were the partisans of a man, not of an idea, held together solely by a baleful personal influence. Salandra

appeared the man fitted to oppose this unhappy situation, and his potent aid in the task before him was secured by the new direction taken by the public conscience. For Italy suddenly awoke to the fact that she had been too long the slave of Giolitti, and a new sentiment of dignity, ardour, and ambition grew up among the younger generation. Young Italy had moments of noble indignation unknown to their fathers; they aspired to a greater and stronger Italy. This leaven quickly fermented, and large sections of the public concentrated their efforts on the formation of a new party, the Nationalists. Throughout the whole country the new propaganda spread, and soon after, to render it yet more efficacious, Italy entered upon her Libyan campaign, which was the occasion of an enthusiastic outburst of renewed military ardour and heroism.

Hence on the eve of a Salandra Cabinet Italy was psychologically ready to be led by a strong hand towards new and higher destinies. But in internal affairs everything

had to be constituted afresh. The bureaucracy was merely a clique of men subservient to the dictator Giolitti; in the South, as the result of scandalous elections and in return for electoral favours, the power was in the hands of men bound hand and foot to the Government in power, *i.e.* to Giolitti, while the extreme parties gathered the fruits of a ten-year-long propaganda of hate and disorder to which the Liberals had no concrete policy to oppose, notwithstanding the admonitions of Salandra, who desired to endow the party with both a conscience and a programme. The army was thoroughly disorganised and its stores depleted, despite the assertion of Giolitti that all was ready and in perfect order. It followed that whoever took office was called on to deal with an Italy which was badly handicapped, unsettled, lacking in self-confidence, and agitated by a veritable nerve crisis, and yet filled with an ardent desire to rise above these obstacles and to recover the soul she had found in the early days of the Libyan campaign.

SALANDRA IN OFFICE

It was at this juncture that Giolitti, alarmed at the Frankenstein he had created, abandoned the reins of government, and, amid the hopes and encouragement of the country, Antonio Salandra was called to the Premiership. This, however, was something of a surprise, as all had thought that the Giolitti Cabinet would have been succeeded by a Sonnino Ministry, since of late years Italian political life seemed to oscillate between Sonnino and Giolitti in a perennial see-saw. But Sonnino had refused the position, and the offer was made to Salandra. Now, during the last elections Salandra had shown signs of differing from his former leader, owing to the fact that, unlike Sonnino, Salandra had not felt inclined to accept certain democratic postulates, and also was not disposed to agree with the Radical party on certain fundamental questions of national policy. Salandra wished to separate the Liberal party from the Democratic and to give a solid active

consistency to Liberalism, reinvigorating it with the vigorous national currents of thought now being manifested, thanks to the younger generation of thinkers. Hence Salandra's electoral speech at Lucera echoed throughout Italy and was regarded as the official programme of the Liberal party. It was quoted and adopted by the Nationalist group as embodying their aspirations. For it can be claimed that with this discourse Salandra had formed a new National Liberal party, which should prove a barrier to the extreme tendencies and reinvigorate Italy from a political and military point of view.

It was felt that with Salandra in power the political life of the country would find more energetic expression and assume a more decided tone in unison with the new-born aspirations of the soul of Italy. To begin with, Salandra showed his hand by excluding from the Ministry members of the Extreme Left, whereas Giolitti's Government had always sought support from the Left, which the "Dictator" had caressed and flattered, admitting Radicals to office,

favouring the candidates of the Reformed Socialists and even of the Revolutionaries. Salandra did not propose to follow this example ; he disregarded the Extreme Left and turned for his basis to the Right, the old traditional party of Italy's Risorgimento, forming a Liberal-Conservative Cabinet, which at once made a favourable impression both on the Chamber and the country, owing to the authoritative character of its component parts. It was not by partiality to individual deputies, but by healthy political action, that Salandra desired to gain the approval of the country, and in a very short time he had earned it. The new Ministry was acclaimed by the whole of the Italian Press, and even the subversive factions, recognising Salandra's integrity, expressed the hope that he would not let himself be enslaved by the Chamber and the Giolittian bureaucracy. For Giolitti, during his long years of virtual dictatorship, had not only filled Parliament with his personal friends elected at any price, but had also assigned the prefectures to his

henchmen and bestowed the highest posts in the Senate on his acolytes and parasites. It was supposed at first that Salandra would accommodate himself to governing according to the Giolittian system, obeying the dictates of the Giolittian Chamber (for no new election had as yet taken place since Salandra had assumed office), or else speedily fall from power. And many exclaimed: "What a pity! all Salandra's good qualities will be wasted, since he must, *force majeure*, become a lieutenant of Giolitti." Had not others succumbed in the same way? True, in 1905, the Dictator had ceded his post to Alessandro Fortis, who formed the Ministries, but ruled *per procura* of Giolitti. In 1910 Luigi Luzzatti, a persuasive orator, an able economist, had cut the same sorry figure, Giolitti remaining the real master of the situation and returning to power when it suited his convenience. It was not surprising, therefore, that everyone anticipated the same fate for Salandra. But the new Premier reserved a surprise for the country. It may be remembered that in the sixteenth

century the Cardinals in conclave determined to exclude from the Papal throne any man of energy and vigour, unanimously voting for a sickly, infirm prelate who could only stand with the help of crutches, and who, they judged, would prove a moribund puppet in their intriguing hands. Scarcely, however, was his election proclaimed than the new Pope drew himself up, threw away his supports, and in a voice of thunder cried to the petrified Cardinals, "Now it is *I* who command!" This Pope was Sixtus V., and it may be asserted that Salandra's history at this epoch resembled that of the Pontiff. The majority had certainly accepted the new Ministry with some diffidence, although Salandra had admitted into its ranks some of Giolitti's followers, such as di San Giuliano, Rava, and Ciuffelli. But after a few months of office Salandra commenced a series of acts which indicated pretty clearly that as Minister he meant to govern on his own lines without any tergiversation, even at the risk of offending the majority.

A favourable opportunity soon presented

itself. The administrative elections throughout Italy for the renewal of the communal and provincial councils were due. Now, it must be known that the Giolittian majority was composed of Southerners, who always supported the Government in power on the understanding that the Government took care that their party should win at the polls, and the South had been accustomed from Bourbon days onwards to see elections fought and won by violence, corruption, and fraud on the part of the Government. For instance, the orders given by the Ministry to the prefects would run thus : " So-and-So, or such and such a party, must be elected at all costs," all costs often meaning arbitrary imprisonment or temporary enforced absences. Salandra was resolved to reinstate political morality, and to sacrifice the favour of individual deputies to the general good. Hence on the eve of the elections he sent a circular to the prefects bidding them respect and enjoin respect for the free will of the electors, and refused to exert the slightest pressure in favour of any party, asserting

most emphatically that sincerity must be the basis of any honest government. Thus for the first time after twenty years in all Italy, but more especially in the South, the elections actually reflected the will of the electorate. The electors were able to send to office the true and authentic representative of their desires. This honest, upright act provoked bitter criticism among the Parliamentary majority ; but as the deputies hardly dared to complain openly of this correct attitude taken up by Salandra, they secretly conspired against him in order to bring about the fall of a Ministry that did not help them to succeed in their iniquitous schemes. But the people regained their long-lost confidence in their Government, and even the Socialists, who were in the Opposition, openly stated in Parliament that in Salandra Italy had finally found an honest representative. Still this did not suffice. Salandra had also to settle with the prefects, who, as the chiefs of the provinces, represent the Government, and who were at this time mostly henchmen of Giolitti, and con-

tinued his policy even in the face of contrary orders from the Government. In consequence Salandra without a moment's hesitation transferred the disobedient prefects to distant and less attractive posts, reproved them, and in some cases removed them from office, despite the loud-voiced complaints of the Parliamentary majority, elected by the help of these prefects, who foresaw they would in future lose an easy and formidable electoral support.

Indeed, it is no exaggeration to assert that the first months of the Salandra Ministry were months of strain and struggle between the Cabinet and the deputies, who met every honest effort on the part of the Government with latent hostility, and, while not daring to rebel openly, endeavoured by occult means to bring about the fall of the Cabinet. They failed, however, in spite of all their efforts, for Salandra had yet another surprise in store, and that was to meet their underground intrigues with an open front. His usually somewhat monotonous eloquence changed to sharp sallies, cut-

ting sarcasms, sardonic thrusts ; the moment he became aware of conspiracies and cabals he attacked them in vigorous language, requesting his opponents to meet him honestly with their visors up, instead of adopting underhand and surreptitious methods. Memorable amongst these verbal duels was the lesson he gave the ex-Minister Schanzer, one of the chiefs of the Giolitti party, when he called out to him before the assembled Chamber, "Speak the truth, Honourable Schanzer." And the Chamber, dismayed by the audacity of this man who dared daily to defy them before the country, ended in voting as he wished against their own will, because they felt that behind the Ministry stood the great mass of the nation, and that the strength of the Premier lay in the enthusiastic consent of public opinion.

However, not only the Chamber was hostile to Salandra, but events themselves as well. True, he was called on to rule at the most tragic moment of Italian history since the country achieved its unity. First the death of the Pope, then the disastrous earth-

quake, and finally the fearful war which subverted all Europe and indeed the world !

THE OUTBREAK OF THE GREAT WAR

Salandra had come into power in March 1914 ; in the following August the war broke out. It was an anxious moment for Italy, for she was allied to Germany and Austria by a defensive treaty which had been in force for thirty years. Yet instantly popular opinion was ranged against the Central Empires, and above all against Austria, the traditional enemy of Italy. The anxiety and tremors of the country in those early days of the war were all concentrated on the question which was put to the Government through the medium of the Press : " Shall we then be constrained to march with Austria and Germany against the Triple Entente ? Does our treaty oblige us to help the assailants of European peace, the murderers of Belgium, the foreign oppressors of our unredeemed provinces ? " In view of this possibility the Italian people lost their calm and their sense of discipline,

they resented the mere thought of fighting beside Austrian soldiers and for such a vile cause, and they hoped the Government would see its way to spare them such a misfortune and such a disgrace. Happily, Salandra understood his nation. Scarcely had the war broken out, when he convinced himself by a careful study of diplomatic documents that the war declared by the Imperial Allies was an offensive not a defensive one ; hence Italy was free to remain neutral, since the treaty did not contemplate her complicity in aggression, and to co-operate with Austria and Germany would have been to take part in a crime. But the whole Cabinet was not of this mind. The then Minister for Foreign Affairs, di San Giuliano, who had renewed the treaty before it fell due and whose policy was one of meek submission to the Central Powers, held that Italy was bound to intervene in the conflict on the German side. Those early days witnessed fierce struggles in the Cabinet and in the country, but Salandra, valiantly supported by the Colonial Minister, Ferdinando

Martini, secured the triumph of his policy of neutrality, thus divorcing Italian responsibility from that of her allies. Salandra at this historic moment showed himself worthy of his nation. He clearly expounded to the Chamber the criteria on which his decision was based, formulating a phrase that is likely to survive—"sacro egoismo nazionale"; meaning that Italy, no longer bound to the destinies of others, was free to develop according to her own will, and was resolved to realise her most sacred national aspirations by means of war if need be, and to issue from the fray greater and stronger. And Salandra's ideas, thus expounded, triumphed over those of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who with his profound sense of discipline bowed to the will of the nation. Soon after, however, San Giuliano, weighed down with infirmities and overcome by emotions, became seriously ill, and died in November 1914. Then Salandra after a brief interim called on his former chief, Baron Sidney Sonnino, to succeed him, and Sonnino with great patriotism accepted this inferior post in

order not to deny his services to the country at such a critical moment of its history.

The union of Salandra and Sonnino strengthened the policy of the Government, which had to deal with grave problems, such as the future attitude with regard to the war and the difficulties concerning money and provisions, which grew more acute every day. In the matter of the grain crisis Salandra was well supported by the aged Cavasole, the Minister for Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, who with youthful energy overcame every obstacle and restored peace to the Italian corn market. A more formidable task was the reorganisation of the army, which had been left by the Minister of War, Springardi, in so deplorable a state after the Libyan campaign that nothing was ready. It was a very labour of Hercules which the Salandra Cabinet had to undertake in order to bring the army into a state of efficiency, so that Italy might quit her attitude of neutrality and impose her demands by force of arms. Ably assisted by men like the Chief of the

General Staff, Cadorna, his second, General Porro, and the young Minister of War, General Zupelli, the Cabinet in nine months of strenuous labour repaired the errors of years of mismanagement and neglect and was able to present Italy with a splendidly organised army, commanded by young, energetic, and capable leaders. Had he done nothing else, Salandra would have merited well of his country.

TOWARDS WAR

It must be clearly understood that Salandra's Cabinet did not regard neutrality as an end, but only as a state of vigilance from which to issue at the opportune moment. But to issue was not easy. The Triple Alliance had not been formally denounced despite Italy's potential dissociation from her allies. A vast and complicated diplomatic situation had to be unravelled and negotiations opened with the Entente. Then, too, the country had to be prepared for the sacrifices entailed by war, above all in a conscript country. All these matters

combined rendered the time of waiting long, and it seemed at times as though the Government were undecided as to its course. Really, however, this was not the case. Salandra, seconded by Sonnino, had resolved from the first to join the crusade against the Germans, and both were actually engaged in severing link by link the heavy economic chain in which Germany had enmeshed Italy in an almost incredible manner, truly Mephistophelean. The consistency and resistance of German influence were seen during the last weeks of peace, when it seemed for a moment as if Prince Bülow, the German Ambassador Extraordinary, would triumph over the Italian spirit. He was able to exercise pressure in the economic field by means of the banks, above all the Banca Commerciale, which, though Italian in name, was really governed by German money and German directors. He also financed newspapers which were paid to advocate the cause of continued neutrality, exercised personal pressure on deputies and senators, and subsidised strikes and socialistic disturbances.

Against all these and many other insidious attacks Salandra had to battle, and to advance quietly, cautiously, and silently, but none the less vigilantly, towards his goal. The only reproach which might be brought against him is that he did not sufficiently prepare public opinion, which was at the mercy of discussion and disputes ; but we now know that he was forced into this attitude in order not to reveal his aims prematurely to the Germanic Powers, who meanwhile were offering tiny slices of territory and making fair promises in order to lull the Italians into quiescence.

In this way nine months passed away in alternations of enthusiasm and disillusion, without a word from the Government disclosing its intentions, this apparently undecided attitude being utilised by Socialists and Clericals to preach neutrality *à l'outrance*. Bülow worked unremittingly both in secret and openly, by fair means and foul, to win adherents to his cause, first for the purpose of intervention on the side of Germany, and, when he saw that such a course was hopeless,

in favour of continued inaction. Thus the early days of May were reached, by which time the Government plans were complete. Salandra, working silently, had repudiated the Triple Alliance, and the King, unable on account of State duties to attend the festival at Quarto for the unveiling of a monument to Garibaldi on the rock whence his famous thousand sailed to conquer Sicily and the South, sent a strongly worded, eloquent telegram to excuse his absence, but to prove his presence in spirit and his oneness with the national aspirations expressed by the ceremony and by d'Annunzio's inaugural address. D'Annunzio's winged words were an appeal for the redemption of Italy's unredeemed cities, Trent and Trieste, and a clear call to arms. After this the nation understood the goal to which Salandra had silently but surely led them during all those months of assiduous preparation. And it was then that Bülow played his last card in the hope of still causing the fall of Salandra and of preventing Italian intervention. He summoned Giolitti to Rome to advocate

continued neutrality, and Giolitti, though Salandra had loyally informed him how matters stood and that the Triple Alliance was no more, pretended ignorance and endeavoured to stir up the King and the Chamber to support the German cause. He persuaded three hundred of the five hundred odd deputies to promise him their adherence, and as his tools, elected by his methods, they had to assure their consent ; he also tried, but with scant success, to work the Press. Salandra, confronted with this Parliamentary attitude, resigned. Everything seemed at an end : it looked as if the most honest Government Italy had ever had would see itself forced to give way before Giolitti's omnipotence ; as if Italy, false to her treaties, would prefer shame and dishonour to war ; and Bülow and Giolitti exulted, while the nation accused Salandra of weakness in yielding. But Salandra had gauged the nation very accurately, and counted on its voice. He knew that in the face of a Parliamentary conspiracy concocted by a foreign ambassador the nation would

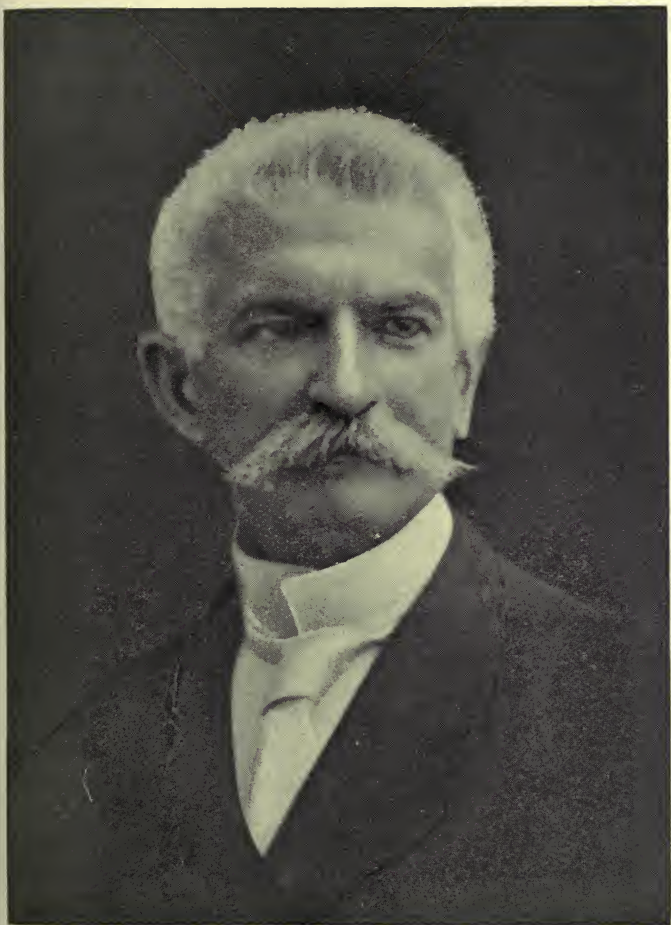
rise in its wrath. He was right, but even he could hardly have foreseen how definite, how pronounced, how deep and violent was this wrath. In every piazza of Italy the people gathered in their thousands shouting "War or the Republic." Even the very pacifists preferred war to again falling under Giolitti's unscrupulous rule ; and it was felt, and even openly expressed, that the King, if he yielded, would stake his very crown. Never was Italy so united in heart and mind as in those anxious and memorable May days when the decision hung in the balance and insurrection was in the air. Terrible, nerve-racking days and hours for us who lived through them ! And when at last the news came that the King would not accept Salandra's resignation, the demonstrations ceased as if by magic, the tricolour waved from every window, and in some cities even the bells rang joyous peals. In Rome the populace insisted that the great bell of the Capitol, which sounds only on the most solemn occasions, should make its grave, deep voice heard.

Probity, integrity, patriotism had conquered ; in silence Giolitti slunk away from Rome, and the German emissaries departed from Italy. Great was the wrath of the Central Powers. The finest speech ever made by Salandra was his reply to Bethmann-Hollweg's irascible, sophistical harangue to the Reichstag when announcing Italy's decision to take part in the war on the side of the Entente. It was a notable discourse in every respect—not least because of the place where it was delivered, the Roman Capitol, which may justly be regarded as the rock whence the light of civilisation has spread throughout the world, consecrated as it is by twenty-five centuries of world-history far different from the *Weltpolitik* of the Germans. And how different the outward form ! To irritable and brutal denunciation was opposed quiet, logical, and studiously courteous reasoning ; to threats and violence, elegant language and a polite smile. To all intents and purposes Salandra said : “ I shall not adopt your system, because on this spot I feel myself more noble than any emperor,

because I here represent twenty - five centuries of civilisation." This speech on the Capitol will go down to Italian history as the keynote of a new era. Statesmen and diplomats have said their say ; the guns have now to speak the final word which will decide the future destinies of Italy. These can, however, but be glorious ; the third Italy will prove worthy of her splendid past, and with her new honours the name of Antonio Salandra will ever be associated as the first Minister of *Italia irredenta*, *Italia risorta* !

BARON SIDNEY SONNINO,
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

THE character of Baron Sidney Sonnino may be summed up in the words : *Frangor, non flector*. A patriot in the best and fullest sense of the term, Sonnino is totally devoid of personal ambition—almost too much so, it might be contended ; and it is possible that the lack of this quality explains why, when chosen Premier, he has never retained this office long, nor did he until recently command any considerable following among Italian Parliamentarians. Some years ago one of his friends said that Italy would never know his worth unless fortune gave him the chance of dealing with a great national crisis. The chance has come, and Sonnino is the man of the hour ; his worth, his rare and valuable temperament, are at last



BARON SIDNEY SONNINO

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universally recognised and acknowledged. He will go down to history as the man who liberated Italy from the nefarious incubus of the Triple Alliance and led her to cast in her lot with the Powers fighting for humanity and civilisation against mediæval barbarism and learned cruelty. The denouncing of this unnatural union of a purely Latin with a purely Teutonic people constitutes a political act of first-class importance, and marks a milestone in Italian history. Only now that they are freed from its yoke does the Italian nation as a whole comprehend fully—what a few had vaguely apprehended—what a heavy load this alliance laid upon them. For Italy, apparently a participator in the benefits of the treaty, was really only the humble handmaiden of the other Powers, who obliged her to submit to their will, and often even to their caprices. For proof of this assertion it is only needful to read the interpretation of the treaty given by Bethmann-Hollweg in his speech to the Reichstag announcing the fact of Italy's

withdrawal and her entrance into the fighting arena.

The Italian Minister who put an end to this political nightmare, which represented a grave peril as well as an anxious problem for Europe, deserves to be more widely known in England, the new ally of Italy ; for, strange as it may sound, Italy and matters Italian are far too little known in England, just as England is unfortunately far too little known to the present generation of Italians. Those of Garibaldi's generation knew her better ; the thirty years of servitude to Germany under the Triple Alliance marked a period of gradual, and lately of intensified, inoculation with anti-Italian influence and with an attitude of fear of Germany and subjection to her pretensions which it will require vigilant and enlightened work to overcome. But happily Salandra and Sonnino are on guard.

THE MAN

Baron Sidney Constantino Sonnino was born in Pisa, March 11, 1847. His father

was a rich Tuscan of Jewish origin, his mother an Englishwoman, Georgina Terry. He inherited the special characteristics of both these races : the quick penetration, the ready intelligence of the Jew ; the calmness, the common-sense, the tenacity of purpose of the English. Indeed, the Italians regard Sommino as more British than Latin, and certainly he seems so both in appearance and temperament. At Pisa University Sommino studied law, taking his degree in 1865. But this profession he soon quitted. He could not reconcile it with his conception of rectitude. Thus the first brief given to him for examination he returned to his employers, saying that after studying the case he was persuaded that the client was absolutely in the wrong, wherefore he could not defend him. Two years later he entered the diplomatic service, in which he remained till 1871, when he resumed the life of a student, which had always attracted him more than diplomacy, his financial independence permitting him to follow his bent in all such matters. During his

years as a diplomat he was attached to the legations of Madrid, Vienna, Berlin, and Paris, and therefore had opportunities of improving his knowledge of the idiosyncrasies and political tendencies of the various peoples and of developing the qualities which enabled him to become the ablest Foreign Minister Italy has ever had.

And here a curious coincidence may be noted. Sonnino quitted the diplomatic service at the very moment when European politics took the direction determined by the results of the Franco-Prussian War, a direction which was destined to last for nearly half a century. He re-entered it at a moment when he was called upon to decide the gravest, most important political problems, destined to give the politics of Europe a totally different direction from that hitherto pursued.

Sonnino's physique reveals his temperament. He is tall, thin, serious, even a trifle stern, of aspect ; his movements have something almost mechanical and automatic ; his voice is tuneless, his accents resolute, his

language sober and strictly corresponding to his thoughts. In short, he is no orator, and this, coupled with his scrupulous uprightness of character, his moral inflexibility, for many years prevented him receiving the public recognition to which his talents entitled him. He does not carry his listeners away, he has no Southern fluency of speech, no gift of eloquence ; in no sense and in no respect does he appeal to the market-place. But no one denies that he is a man of profound learning, a scholar in the widest sense of the word. His range of studies is as varied as it is thorough, embracing, as it does, specialist scientific subjects, economic and financial problems, as well as a competent knowledge of literary and artistic themes. To prove this we need only mention some of his published works, such as his translations of Thornton's work on Labour problems and Cairnes' *Fundamental Principles of Political Economy*, published in the Library of Social Science series ; his commentary on the sixth canto of Dante's *Paradiso* ; his con-

tributions to the *Nuova Antologia* and other reviews.

Such being his character, it is scarcely surprising that Sonnino is not popular in the strictest sense of the word, that he is no mob hero ; but his rare dignity and rectitude have won him universal esteem. He has held the highest office under the Crown ; nevertheless, each time he fell he quietly, serenely stepped aside, not attempting to exercise influence when in opposition. Without regret, without rancour, without impatience, he calmly returned to private life or to the obscure position of a deputy. Rejecting the exhortations of a handful of his faithful followers, he allowed long intervals of political inaction to elapse—an inaction, however, more apparent than real, but during which he scrupulously abstained from any interference, any attempt to bring himself into notice. During these interludes he quietly resumed his favourite studies, isolating himself either in his lovely pastoral villa of Montespertoli, in the Val di Pesa, near Florence, once the property of

Machiavelli ; or more frequently seeking a yet more remote hermitage in his splendid Castello del Romito, facing the Tyrrhean and not far distant from Leghorn—a magnificent, far from austere hermitage. The castle, which crowns a rocky promontory jutting out into the sea and only accessible from one side, dates from the days of the Medici, and bears on its face the severe yet grandiose character of its builders. Internally Sonnino has modernised it and rendered it suitable to present-day requirements, but in its severity and isolation, as well as its stern beauty, it may well be called unique. Here this modest, eminent statesman spends his happiest hours, far from the madding crowd he loves not. Very few and very intimate are those who gain admission into the precincts of this sea-bound “castle precipice encurled,” where Sonnino passes his days reading his favourite books or walking in the fine old pine-wood that flanks his abode. Or he may descend to the little harbour he has constructed at the castle’s rocky foot ; or his eye will range with

pleasure over the view of the blue Tyrranean from the balconies of the vast and splendid hall facing the ocean, which is called, perchance in memory of its older fortress origin, the Battery. Below, in an almost inaccessible portion of the rock, Sonnino has long ago prepared his tomb, closed in by a huge block of white marble which it took two teams of oxen to drag hither, a spot only to be seen from the water by those who know exactly where to search for it. Thus even in death he would be a recluse.

It is at the Romito, in this spot so congenial to meditation and concentration, that Sonnino rests and refreshes his spirit when higher duties do not call for his presence and his co-operation. The place and the man correspond, for Sonnino, like his castle, is built on granite foundations. He has ever upheld and practised a noble and lofty conception concerning participation in public life ; never has he lent his countenance or support to political compromises or transactions of easy and convenient opportunism.

He has always rigidly carried out the principles he has laid down as to a politician's conduct, and to this scrupulous rectitude he has subordinated everything, even his own personal interest. Hence we behold him to-day, an example as rare as it is admirable, filling with zeal and self-abnegation the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs, although he has twice held that of Premier, his superior being that very Antonio Salandra whom all thought to be Sonnino's most faithful follower and disciple, indeed his lieutenant.

HIS POLITICAL CAREER

We see, then, that Sonnino was not of the race of those who spend their youth in idleness and riotous living, which his wealth would have permitted him had he been so minded. He dedicated himself to practical and scientific researches, of whose results he early gave the world convincing proof. He had realised when still quite young that the greatest problems to be solved by Italy ere she could take the place assigned her by

nature in the comity of nations were the organisation of her finances and the healing of that open sore, the condition of the South, so neglected, impoverished, and depressed by its Bourbon rulers. In co-operation with Baron Leopoldo Franchetti, then a deputy and now a senator, another rich young man of Jewish extraction, Sonnino opened an exhaustive inquiry into the economic conditions of Sicily, with special reference to agrarian conditions. The results of this investigation—which cost them months of labour, great expense, and yet greater personal discomfort, for Sicily was in those days a wild and almost barbarous land—were published in 1877 in two solid volumes entitled *The Peasants of Sicily*. The book at once established Sonnino's reputation by attracting public attention, and already many began to prophesy a brilliant political future for him. But he did not desire to attract public attention to himself, but rather to awaken the interest of Parliament and the Government in the neglected state of the lovely island, so that many much-needed

reforms and facilities might be granted to its inhabitants. Sonnino then extended his researches to the southern provinces of the mainland, to the grave phenomena of emigration, the work of women and children, especially in the mines ; with the result that most of the reforms accomplished in Sicily and the South are directly due to his labours on their behalf, nor has he ever ceased to take an interest in these matters.

In 1878 Sonnino founded and edited a weekly paper, *La Rassegna Settimanale*, which was for some years the leading Conservative organ. Into this review he poured all his vast culture, all his energy, sparing neither time nor money, so that it attained a standing of much eminence, which after its demise was reached by no other Italian weekly. In 1882 Sonnino, who was already a deputy, transformed the review into a daily paper, *La Rassegna*, that flourished for many years ; when, however, he withdrew his support, it succumbed. Sonnino also contributed to other publications, writing on the most varied themes, but always on

those of noble import. He even at times contributed to journalism, when there were questions of the hour to treat. He founded and kept alive the *Giornale d'Italia*, one of the most authoritative and widely read Roman dailies, and many think that he is to this day its proprietor. It is not possible to affirm this with certainty, but it is undeniable that the paper faithfully reflects the views of Baron Sonnino.

In May 1880 he was elected deputy for San Casciano in Val di Pesa, a place near his Tuscan villa ; and from that date onwards the inhabitants of San Casciano have never failed to elect him as their deputy to every succeeding legislature, the present being his fourteenth.

The young deputy was remarked at once for his assiduous attendance and participation in important transactions, and above all in everything relating to finance, agriculture, foreign and colonial affairs—a quite unobtrusive participation, however. This was partly due to his retiring character, partly also to the fact already mentioned that he was no

orator. In the Chamber he does not speak, he reads. Sonnino is in the habit of writing out his speeches in large characters on large sheets of paper, which he props up on the bench before him as though it were a reading desk. When it is his turn to speak, he rises, thrusts his hands deep into his pockets (a very English, un-Italian attitude), and sways to and fro as though on a see-saw, in reality to bend towards his papers and then to raise himself to speak, a motion constantly repeated until he has reached the end of his discourse. His style, though somewhat dry and impersonal, is by no means lacking in energy. If what Sonnino reads were spoken from memory, with colour and confident ease, he would be a first-class debater of the English type. Notwithstanding these defects, for many years past, whenever Sonnino rises from his seat in the Chamber or on the Ministerial tribune, the House is hushed and attentive, and members hurry in from the lobbies to listen to his words, for they know that, if devoid of ornament, they will be charged with ideas, data, and proposals.

It would lead us too far afield to examine the various speeches delivered, or rather read, by Sonnino during the thirty-five years of his attendance in the Chamber, but all are more or less noteworthy, for he never speaks unless he has something to say. A rapid survey of some of his political writings will, however, reveal still more plainly how consistent the man has always been in his views. Thus in 1883 Sonnino delivered a remarkable speech on foreign affairs, in which he put forward statements and conceptions strictly related to the international complications of to-day, ideas already entertained at that epoch by the present Minister for Foreign Affairs. At that time Italy was passing through a period of uncertainty and weakness. The Triple Alliance Treaty was in being, though this was not generally known. Nevertheless, it already weighed heavily on the destinies of the Mediterranean nation. The Ministry of that day, weak, inadequate, and above all taken up with home politics (finance, public order, etc.), held itself almost aloof from international questions,

and thus let slip valuable opportunities, refusing to entertain advantageous offers, and finally becoming more and more isolated, more and more tied and bound to conditions which the Central Empires, and above all Germany, imposed upon her as necessary to the life of the country.

At that period Pasquale Stanislaos Mancini was Minister for Foreign Affairs, a Southerner of much ability, versed in international law, but a mediocre diplomat. It was he who at this time refused the offer made to Italy to join England in the occupation of Egypt. It is useless to recapitulate the history of those days, but it is well to recall a speech made by Sonnino in the Chamber on March 10, 1883, in which he deplored the weakness of the Ministry, and referred to the existence of the Triple Alliance, which he accepted as being perhaps a necessity, stating, however, at the same time, that he was strongly in favour of a better understanding with England. Even then he complained that Italy's allies treated her with but scant consideration, and that they alone derived

benefit from the alliance, even hinting that Germany and Austria were playing a double game. Latter-day events have shown how true was his prophecy !

Where Sonnino revealed his absolute mastery was in matters relating to finance. This important problem had been dealt with for many years in a most haphazard and careless way—above all, during the long period from 1877 to 1887 when Agostino Magliani was Minister of Finance and of the Treasury, a Southerner of ability, but no financier. He was the fabricator of the most amazing balance-sheets, and the unfortunate originator of what came to be nicknamed “light-hearted finance.” This method eventually led to a deficit in the State coffers amounting to some 180 million francs. Sonnino, with his lucid mind, his acute perception, aided by his extensive studies of economic problems, now began his searching and pitiless criticism of the financial and fiscal methods hitherto followed. With the help of dates and figures, with extreme precision, coolly, calmly, implacably,

he demolished stone by stone these castles in the air, proclaiming at all seasons, both in and out of Parliament, the urgent need of re-establishing serious and accurate fiscal methods, based on wise retrenchment and even on sacrifices, in order to strengthen the economic life of the country, instead of compromising it by fallacious mirages of non-existent wealth.

Sonnino's financial campaign brought him into much prominence, so that, when in 1893 Crispi was called to the Premiership, Sonnino entered the Cabinet as Under Secretary of State for the Treasury, his superior being Constantino Perazzi, who had taken Magliani's place. However, it was not possible entirely to eliminate Magliani with his roseate financial presentations, and he still remained for some time in the Cabinet as Minister of Finance.

In his new post Sonnino was able to perfect still further his intimate acquaintance with Italian financial conditions, and to acquire such a practical knowledge of Italian needs and problems as enabled him

to become the most energetic and capable financier Italy has ever known since the death of that genius in this line, Quintino Sella.

SONNINO AS MINISTER

Quietly, unobtrusively, Sonnino ascended the political ladder, reaching its highest rungs thanks only to his personal worth, his clean hands, his probity, his fearless disinterestedness, and in no respect to the too usual Parliamentary methods of compromise and intrigue. Crispi, who recognised his worth, promoted him in 1896 to the post of Minister of the Treasury. It was then that he was able to lay firmly the foundations of the present financial and economic prosperity of Italy, and to win universal respect, even if, owing to his unyielding character, he never succeeded in winning universal popularity. And truly Sonnino had assumed office at a most grave moment in the financial life of Italy. The economic condition of the country was deplorable ; it was threatened with insolvency, and the

charges on the public debt were colossal. This state of affairs reacted on the country : discontent was rife, in many districts there were riots and popular risings that had to be forcibly suppressed. Then, to complicate matters, there occurred at the same time the great scandal of the Banca Romana, known as the Italian Panama ; a State bank, supposed to be solvent and believed to be directed by men of scrupulous honesty, had to close its doors and become bankrupt. The condition of affairs revealed by this bankruptcy and the Parliamentary commission of inquiry was appalling. Duplicate banknotes had been issued, hundreds of millions had been diverted to mysterious political ends or to satisfy certain deputies, their supporters and clients. It was a terrible moment and a humiliating experience for Italy, but under Sonnino's wise guidance it proved wholesome, as a surgical operation may be necessary to save a sufferer. But for a while the effects of it pressed heavily on the country. The State Banca d'Italia, only recently established, had to bear in

great part the burden of this liquidation, and hence to realise a large amount of its capital, thus withdrawing it from that healthful circulation which would have given aid and impetus to industry and commerce, just then desperately in need of such assistance.

In short, an acute and serious financial crisis was provoked. Sonnino, in his new post as Minister of the Treasury, first acquainted himself thoroughly and minutely, in his usual methodical fashion, with the state of affairs in all its details and complications, and then set to work to provide the remedies. Henceforward no more petty arts and lobbying, no more Press corruption, no more secret subsidies ; in short, the most scrupulous care in the handling of public money. Further, Sonnino examined and probed the contributory system then in vogue, and subjected it to various changes and modifications, and also, it must be confessed, to increased burdens. But this was necessary and inevitable if the country was to recover from the long period of

reckless finance. In short, the programme proposed and executed by Sonnino may be synthesised thus : rigid finance, economy, taxes.

Needless to point out, such a programme, carried out with great decision and without any sentimental considerations, was not exactly calculated to make its author popular. The Parliamentary deputies lost the facilities hitherto accorded to them for carrying out schemes nominally for the benefit of their constituencies, but generally for the ultimate benefit of their own pockets—facilities they demanded with a cool light-heartedness, “since it is the State that pays,” regardless of the fact that the State is the nation, of which they, too, form an integral part. But there were more serious obstacles in the way of reforms. These absolutely needful retrenchments affected the labour market and hence caused economic disturbances, while the increased direct and indirect taxation procured for the “only begetter” of these reforms an unjust but easily comprehended hostility.

It required all Sonnino's energy, uprightness, and tenacity to maintain his position, but he maintained it unperturbed. Regardless of severe and even venomous criticisms, of harsh and unscrupulous attacks and defamation, especially from deputies accustomed to far different, more easygoing and pleasanter methods, Sonnino never stirred an inch from the attitude he had taken up, which he felt convinced was the only right and safe course for the State to steer. He remained unperturbed, continuing along the road he had marked out ; and time, that "gallant gentleman," as the Italian proverb has it, has at last rendered justice where justice was due, and it is now universally admitted that Italy owes her financial regeneration to Sonnino's efforts.

And Sonnino's methods, in spite of successive Ministerial changes that brought other men to the fore, have remained the beaten track from which no Minister has dared to depart in order to return to the old and reprehensible system.

In 1896 the Crispi Ministry fell, and

hence Sonnino also had to retire, and the unpopularity he had earned obliged him to withdraw for a long period of inaction and meditation. As he himself expressed it, he was like an old locomotive abandoned on a siding. As ever before, he employed this interval for study, and with quiet dignity, without irritation or impatience, he pondered how he could improve his knowledge and his methods, in order to be of enhanced value to his land when and if it should call for his services.

However, in the longish interval before he returned to office, Sonnino never failed to intervene whenever an important Parliamentary debate was expected; and on all other public occasions he was always present, always ready to express his expert opinion and to shed light upon a subject in wise if unadorned words.

SONNINO AS PARTY MINISTER

It was about this time that Sonnino, almost against his will, in consequence of common aims and ideas, became the leader

of a political and Parliamentary party. There gathered round him a group of men opposed to all exaggerations and excesses, and yet inspired by modern views and ideals—a group, in short, synthesising and epitomising the principles of Italy's two greatest statesmen, Cavour and Sella, the former an eminent diplomatist and ruler, the second a notable financier. This group, which was known as the Left Centre, proposed to reconcile the greatest possible progress with political sincerity and honesty, and the most rigid respect for the Constitution.

Such was the ground-plan of the Italian Liberal party, whose name has been abused by other and less scrupulous men, but whose most faithful representatives are Sonnino and his adherents, amongst whom was soon prominent Antonio Salandra, to-day Italian Premier.

In order to understand better the character and programme of this Sonnino party, called the Centre, because its members were almost all seated on the benches in the middle of the amphitheatre where the Italian Parlia-

ment holds its sittings, it may not be amiss to quote some portions of an open letter addressed by Sonnino, after he became Minister, to his faithful constituents of San Casciano during the general elections of 1897.

Referring to the work he was once more called on to perform in the Chamber, he reaffirmed his intention of "gradually removing from our institutions and laws everything that hinders the gradual transformation of our social and juridic conditions into conformity with the needs of the times, and inspiring the whole work of the State with a wider and more advanced conception of human fraternity and solidarity, preventing every violation of the rights of the few against the many or of the many against the few."

Surely such sentiments dispose of a reproach sometimes launched against Sonnino that he is reactionary and retrograde.

Here is an extract from another of his letters, dealing with his views of foreign politics, from which it is easy to deduce

what convictions he held long before he took the step of detaching Italy from the Triple Alliance and leading her to fight on the side of the Entente. It was in the days of the war between Greece and Turkey caused by the national risings in Crete. Sonnino wrote on this subject : "The reasons must be very clear and overwhelming that could prove our co-operation indispensable in a melancholy crusade against the principles to which we owe our unity and our independence. May it be permitted to me, a simple Italian citizen, to send a word of sympathy and admiration to the small neighbour State, whose King and people, moved by the cry of their martyred brothers, and strong in the knowledge of their rights, have manfully upheld the banner of nationality ?" On another occasion, in a private letter to a friend, Sonnino wrote : "If a nation only lives for its daily bread, it ends by losing that also."

But to return to the chronological order of our narrative. Sonnino, no longer in office, but merely a deputy, the former leader

of a party, gave his support, when he could do so, to the various Governments which succeeded him, but finally found himself forced to lead the Parliamentary Opposition, and this more especially against Giolitti, whose political dishonesty and time-serving methods he could not approve. Towards Giolitti, as towards Magliani, and even to a greater degree, Sonnino was implacable, tenacious, rigorous. It was a long, unceasing, and arduous struggle; in the end Sonnino won, because the advent of the Salandra Ministry, even before Sonnino himself entered the Cabinet, represented his own triumph and that of his party, and the defeat of *Giolittismo* and of Giolitti himself.

SONNINO AS PREMIER

It was logical and correct that after each fall either of Giolitti or the men of straw he put in to govern in his name, Sonnino should be called upon to form the Cabinet. He held this high office twice—once in 1906 and again in 1909; but neither time was he able to hold it long. Indeed,

Giolitti predicted that his opponent would not remain in power more than a hundred days, a prophecy fulfilled on both occasions to the letter. Yet Sonnino brought to his high position all his rare and unique probity, all his upright convictions and patriotic aspirations. He had, moreover, gathered round him as colleagues first-class statesmen, including the best members of the various parties. Why could he not maintain his position? It is not easy to unravel the many complex causes that conduce to Parliamentary mutability, but the reasons why Sonnino did not remain Premier for long must be sought both in his character and in the Parliamentary environment. He lacked magnetism, that subtle, intangible power that stamps men as leaders; he was sternly unyielding, and this in an environment where pliancy is too often regarded as a foremost virtue; he was scrupulously honest and impatient of all backstair methods, of bribery and cajolery. Nor is it to be wondered at that the Chamber did not uphold him. Italian elections for many

years had been manipulated by Giolitti by shameless methods, with the purpose of returning only deputies who would vote blindfold whatever Giolitti ordered or desired. Indeed, the most astounding majorities were registered in those days. Members did not discuss, they merely voted as Giolitti bade them. This created an impossible state of things for anyone who was not Giolitti himself or one of his henchmen, because it established an *a priori* dumb, chronic hostility, which soon developed into active, overwhelming opposition.

The new Premier could only count on the men of his own group—good men, but few in number—and on the few opponents of Giolitti, who generally belonged to the extreme parties, with whom cohesion was difficult and often impossible. And it is needless to repeat that Sonnino, the uncompromising, could not stoop to Giolitti methods to gain the favour of the deputies. Desirable though it was for the nation that so scrupulously upright a man should

remain long in power, Parliamentary intrigues and opportunism triumphed over justice and righteousness.

Nevertheless, Sonnino, when in power, either as Minister or Premier, always left his mark behind him. Profoundly acquainted with the needs of the nation, he at once tackled the important questions requiring a solution and carried his reforms into execution as far as he could. Thus in the matter of taxes and the public funds he was able to make various changes which proved of advantage to the Exchequer. Even the long-desired conversion of the National Debt, carried through by Majorano and Luigi Luzzatti, was in reality the work of Sonnino, who in his three months' term of office matured the scheme his successors executed.

SONNINO MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Fallen from power, Sonnino resumed his watchful attitude with his customary calm and confidence, continuing to be the authoritative and respected chief of the

constitutional Opposition. In March 1914 Giolitti divined that the popular wind did not blow in his favour, and, not being desirous to face in Parliament the responsibility for his conduct of the Libyan campaign, he once more resigned, on the plea of ill-health, feeling assured that he could resume office when he was so minded. Sonnino was the right and proper person to succeed him, but Sonnino did not consider it opportune that he should put himself forward, therefore Parliamentary conditions brought Salandra into office. Given the personal and political relations existing between these two eminent men, the new Premier could count on the unconditional aid and, if needful, the collaboration of his former chief. And thus it happened.

Salandra, as is now well known, found himself, on taking office, confronted with arduous problems, amongst them the heavy task of liquidating Giolitti's untoward heritage. While thus occupied there broke out—unexpected and terrible—the European War, which added incalculably to Italy's

perils and difficulties. The ill-starred Alliance weighed like Dante's leaden cloak upon the land, which, recalling its own traditions and origin, turned an anxious eye towards those fighting for the sacred cause of nationalities. On the other hand, the internal conditions as well as the international demanded the observance of neutrality. This neutral attitude, apparently advantageous and convenient, in point of fact concealed grave perils. The then Minister for Foreign Affairs, Marchese di San Giuliano, who had renewed the Triple Alliance before the term fell due, for what reasons, owing to what blandishments on the part of the Central Powers, history alone will reveal, died in November 1914. It was a critical juncture.

Happily, the proposal that Sonnino should take his place was well received by the country. His immaculate honesty, his sincere patriotism, his cognisance of international affairs, inspired general confidence. If any doubts were felt, it was lest he should lack the diplomatic gifts of flexibility,

malleability, and subtlety. But it was speedily recognised that the day and hour were past for such mere verbal fencing. A man of strong will and real capacity was required, and these qualities Sonnino was known to possess. Without delay he restored the relations between Austria and Italy to the position they should always have occupied. It is only needful to peruse the *Libro Verde* (Green Book) issued after the declaration of war, to gauge the rare rectitude and undeviating tenacity of purpose possessed by Sonnino. Reading the pages we seem to witness a combat between a man of steadfast character, forced to skirmish for months against the ambush prepared by a diplomacy that employed every weapon, no matter how perfidious, and did not even shrink from the endeavour to foment civil war. On May 4, 1915, Sonnino cut short the insincere and evasive negotiations of Austria and Germany, denounced the Triple Alliance on the ground of the failure of the Central Powers to comply with Clause VII. of the treaty, and proclaimed

Italy's complete liberty of action. On May 24 Italy declared war on Austria, and Sonnino found himself for the first time in his career not only respected, but popular with and acclaimed by his countrymen.

FERDINANDO MARTINI,
MINISTER FOR THE COLONIES

FERDINANDO MARTINI, the present Minister for the Colonies in the Salandra Cabinet, is one of the most enlightened politicians as well as one of the most brilliant writers Italy possesses. He is a man of real worth, a very typical example of that Italian genius which so often manifests itself in multiform and dissimilar ways. Thus he has shown himself of late years a politician of rare acumen, while at the same time maintaining his position as an elegant and polished writer of both prose and verse. His literary activity ranges from newspaper articles to plays, novels, and short stories ; from vivid impressions of his many journeys into distant colonies to carefully pondered Parliamentary reports, so well composed and so full of

information that they may be classed as literature. It was owing to this latter rare gift that Martini, even when only a deputy, and later on as Minister, was often called on to compile the most important addresses from the Chamber to the King. Thus it was Martini who wrote the fine report that preceded the decree in which Italy affirmed her sovereignty over Libya.

We may deal first with his literary activity, as it preceded his political. An eminent Italian writer, author of a *Literary History of the Nineteenth Century*, Senator Guido Mazzoni, says of Martini's work : "Martini's prose, in the wealth of its vocabulary, the flexibility of its style, is a conspicuous example of a graceful fusion of literary tradition and the spoken tongue, a union not often so happily met with as in him." Indeed, Martini possesses all the qualities, both natural and acquired, needful to make a good writer : quick and penetrating perception, a tenacious memory, great common-sense—that rare faculty misnamed common—a critical mind, matchless command of

Italian, no easy language to master according to the exacting requirements of cultured Italians, jealous, and rightly so, of their classic tongue. In addition to this, Martini had the good fortune to be born in Tuscany, a province which prides itself on being the cradle of pure Italian, and whose keen, light air seems specially to foster acute, versatile, quick-witted talents.

It must not, however, be assumed that Martini relied solely on his natural talents ; on the contrary, he took infinite pains to fashion his style in such a way as to render it restrained and elegant, yet at the same time so spontaneous and easy as to prevent its being regarded as the result of reflection and care. When reading Martini we might readily suppose that he writes quickly and without effort, whereas those who know his methods of production affirm that every one of his writings costs him much time, labour, and research. In this and other respects is to be seen the beneficent influence exercised over Martini by the author who was his main inspiration, at least in the first years

of his literary career—that Tuscan of the Tuscans, Giuseppe Giusti, the racy, idiomatic poet who, though he died comparatively young, has left work entitling him to a place in the first ranks of Italian literature. The two men were not only contemporaries but also fellow-townsmen, and after Giusti's death the task of writing his biography and editing and publishing his complete works fell to the lot of Martini.

HIS YOUTH AND LITERARY DÉBUT

Ferdinando Martini was born on July 30, 1841, at Monsummano, in the Val di Nievole in Tuscany, which is noted for the racy idiom spoken by the peasants of these favoured hills and dales. His father, Vincent Martini, was himself a dramatic author, many of whose comedies still hold the boards. Monsummano, his native place, is known the world over for its marvellous grotto, called Grotto Giusti after the poet : a huge labyrinth where every variety of natural temperature is met with, ranging from tepid to almost fever heat, and where

really marvellous cures are effected in patients suffering from gout and kindred maladies. Martini's family owned a villa and grounds on the heights, still prized by the Minister, and to which he retires from time to time whenever the cares of State allow, to look after his vines and olives and to seek rest among its lovely scenery. He pursued his youthful studies at Pisa University, not far distant from his home, and after taking his degree was appointed Professor at the Normal School for Girls at Vercelli, whence he passed in 1871 to the Training School for Boys at Pisa. In 1874 he was elected deputy for the constituency of Pescia, the county town of the Val di Nievole, whose district includes Monsummano, and from that date onwards Martini has always been returned to the Chamber by the same electorate. He soon became popular with his fellow-deputies, both because of his talents and because of his genial yet withal learned conversation ; and this Parliamentary esteem added to the fame he had already

gained among the general public by his writings.

Martini himself tells with much grace and humour how he took his first literary steps. He was barely seventeen when he found himself involved in Florence in one of those patriotic demonstrations which heralded the pacific Tuscan revolution of 1859. He was arrested for his over-vehement applause of the play *Arnaldo di Brescia*, by G. B. Niccolini, a poet and dramatist whose patriotic plays helped to inspire the Risorgimento and awaken Italian love of liberty and independence. Martini was guilty of clapping the drama and its author, both viewed with scant favour by the police and spies of the Austrian Grand Duke. He was not kept in prison very long, but those days of detention had awakened in him the desire to write a tragedy preaching freedom and liberty. In a brief space of time he composed a play called *Il finto Gentiluomo* (*The Counterfeit Gentleman*), in how many acts and in what kind of metre he no longer remembers; he handed the MS. to a friend for his criticism, and from

that day to this, says Martini, fortunately nothing more was ever heard of this youthful production !

Later on Martini again aspired to write for the stage, and in 1862 he produced a comedy in three acts entitled *L'Uomo propone e la Donna dispone* (*Man proposes and Woman disposes*). It was followed by others equally successful, whose grace and delicate humour gained for him the name of the Italian Alfred de Musset. Seeing that he found public favour, he gave up his educational post in 1872 and devoted himself entirely to his pen, writing plays and stories, each of which enhanced his reputation. It was then that he also embarked upon journalism, contributing to the now defunct daily Roman paper *Fanfalla* literary and critical articles, signed "Fantasio" and "Fox," which quickly attracted public attention. In 1874 he founded and edited the *Fanfalla della Domenica*, in its day a highly esteemed weekly. To this periodical some of the best younger writers of the time contributed, among them Carducci, d'Ancona, and Matilde

Serao. The *Fanfalla della Domenica* had also the merit of being the first to discover and appreciate Gabriele d'Annunzio's youthful verses, the reviewer indicating him to Italians as their future great poet, and incidentally showing rare discrimination. From that time forward Martini began to be well known and greatly esteemed as a writer, and his literary output increased. He collaborated in the chief reviews, wrote on art, Italian and foreign literature, published verses and dramas. One of his plays holds the boards to this day : *Chi sa il gioco non l'insegna* (the title being an Italian proverb meaning that those who have found out how to get on are not usually anxious to impart their knowledge to others), a chiselled little gem ; and another called *Il peggior passo è quello dell'uscio* (*C'est le premier pas qui coûte*). A novel, *La Marchesa* (*The Marchioness*), a realistic production, was greatly discussed in its day as pointing to a new development in narrative art. Martini also compiled two prose anthologies, for schools, of extracts from modern Italian writers and from

authors of all epochs, both of which are still in use.

A book which much enhanced his reputation was *Nell' Affrica Italiana (In Italian Africa)*, written about 1892, which gives a vivid and artistic description of the Italian colony of Erythrea, a work which has been compared in style and treatment to Pierre Loti's books dealing with exotic lands. A peculiarity of this book is that Martini always spells Africa with two f's, an orthography since officially adopted in Italy. Commenting on this, a critic of the day wrote, "Our colony has cost us so many millions that we may allow ourselves the luxury of adding to its name one more letter of the alphabet!" It should be added that Martini had not yet become Governor of Erythrea when he wrote this volume.

MARTINI AS AN ORATOR

Martini was early in great request as a lecturer, for, besides being an elegant writer, his delivery is admirable—easy, clear, and magnetic. On this subject he himself

can be quoted. In the preface to a book on Parliamentary life he wrote : "Cicero, or Crassus for him, in the famous dialogue, declared that, beside the subtlety of the dialecticians, the reasoning of the philosophers, the eloquence of the poets, the learning of the jurists, the voice of a tragedian and the gestures of the most celebrated actors were requisite in an orator. *Vox tragedorum, gestus summorum actorum est requirendus.*"

In France the orators of the Revolution, true to their precepts, even if they lacked the other important requisites enumerated by Cicero, even if they could not aspire to the rank of a Mirabeau or a Malouet, a Vergniaud or a Danton, made the most of their voices ; they used, that is to say, all Mother Nature had given them, and were not sparing in the matter of gesticulation. For proof of this we need only look at their portraits as contemporary artists depicted them, haranguing the Convention or the Assembly, to see with what wealth of mimicry they accompanied the rounded architecture of their periods. And this

emphatic delivery accompanied by emphatic gestures was in oratorical vogue during the whole reign of Louis Philippe. The voice of the tragedian, the gestures of the most famous mimes, were considered essential when addressing the public. Nowadays we no longer recite, we speak ; and in Parliament the orator who is most highly esteemed and most willingly listened to is he who knows how to speak what he has to say with all simplicity.

And it is just for this unaffected but telling simplicity that Martini, whether as deputy, lecturer, or Minister, is listened to so intently and wins so much applause, and that the seats are never empty when he rises to address the Chamber.

His physique, too, gains him the instant sympathy of his audience : tall, serious-looking, broad-shouldered, with a fine intellectual head to which his abundant though now white hair gives an imposing frame, his mere appearance at once captivates his hearers. His delivery, too, possesses that natural elegance, that Atticism, lacking

in most forensic and Parliamentary orators. In the Italian Chamber no speeches surpass his in refinement of taste and artistic composition. He never exaggerates, never assumes dramatic attitudes in word or pose, never over-elaborates his style, or indulges in those empty rhetorical fireworks which in the end weary an Assembly and do not help to convert it. He never speaks for long, but his briefest discourses suffice to penetrate with ingenious flexibility to the very kernel of a subject. He sets forth his facts with admirable lucidity, and analyses the arguments of his adversaries with rapid, incisive ease. And not only does he analyse them : he twists and turns them about according to the best oratorical traditions, and at moments flings forth one of those epigrams of which he is a past master, and to which the Italian tongue lends itself so happily. But there is never venom in his sarcasm. In short, he has very individual gifts of eloquence, and it is little wonder that with what Nature bestowed and art perfected Martini was destined to make his mark.

MARTINI AS MINISTER OF PUBLIC
INSTRUCTION

In the early 'eighties Agostino Depretis held the reins of office, a cynical politician who transformed the Jesuit saying, "The end justifies the means," into the motto, "All means are justifiable in order to remain in power." It was he who in 1884 appointed Martini to be Under Secretary of Public Instruction, and it was in this post that Martini learnt the routine of administrative work, being called upon to deal with important problems such as the regulation of the secondary schools. When Giolitti became Premier for the first time in 1892, he chose Martini as his Minister of Public Instruction, a post he held some eighteen months, during which time he made some important reforms, particularly as regards University studies. Martini, it may be mentioned, is one of the most modest and retiring of men; he does not like his individuality to be brought into prominence, he only desires that his work

shall benefit his country. But he could not, of course, escape honours. Among these the one he no doubt prizes most is his election to the membership of the far-famed Accademia della Crusca, the jealous, erudite guardian of the patrimony of the Italian language. The honorary degree of doctor was also conferred on him by the University of Pisa. Even lately, after resuming office, with its constant demands upon his time, Martini has found leisure to initiate and direct two most important series of books—namely, well-printed though low-priced issues of “Italian Classics,” from the origin of the language with Dante down to writers of the middle of the nineteenth century, and of “Contemporary Writers,” *i.e.* from the middle of the nineteenth century to our own day, a natural and indispensable corollary to the former series. As these editions met with well-deserved success, they were followed by another series entitled “The Immortals,” which when complete will consist of four hundred volumes, and includes writers of all climes and ages, from

Epictetus to Zola. Such popular publications, well bound, clearly printed on good paper, and low priced, are a novelty for Italy, and have found the favour they merit, Martini's name as editor being a guarantee for the excellence of the choice and the fidelity of the translations.

After the fall of the Giolitti Cabinet consequent on the Bank scandals, Martini returned to private life, dedicating himself anew to literature, but not on that account neglecting to take an interest in politics. Indeed, it was at this time that he began to occupy himself very seriously and profoundly with colonial affairs, and that he wrote his book on African questions. Those were sad times for Italy. National prestige had suffered cruelly owing to the reverses, both avoidable and unavoidable, connected with the young colony. Nor did the Italians yet understand how colonial enterprises should be carried on, nor how colonies should be governed. The great reverses sustained and the immense expenditure required in order to consolidate the original conquest made

the very name of Erythrea unpopular and depreciated in Italy. It was thanks to Martini's careful study of the subject that a balanced and impartial statement of the problem was placed before the nation and confidence in the colony restored. Beyond doubt it was this painstaking work which pointed him out as a suitable civil governor for Erythrea when the then Premier, Marchese di Rudini, made a radical change in its government by removing it from military to civilian hands.

It was in 1897 that Martini assumed this position, and for ten years he ruled this colony, so neglected and almost ignored by the mass of the Italian people. And most successfully did he carry out the programme he had laid down for himself when he left Italy, a programme summed up in the words : " Blessed are those colonies of which no one speaks."

MARTINI AS GOVERNOR OF ERYTHREA

When Martini said, " Blessed are those colonies of which no one speaks," he had

of course in mind the humiliation and loss of prestige suffered by Italy owing to the unwise policy of the earlier military rulers of the Erythrea colony. The whole question as to whether it was desirable for so young and comparatively poor a land as Italy to embark on colonial enterprise is a vexed and disputed one. Some contend that one of the many bad results of the Triple Alliance was the encouragement given by it to this essay on the part of Italy of colonial power ; others aver that it was intended as a counter-blast to the French occupation of Tunis : others, again, that it was prompted by a desire to conciliate England, who had been annoyed at the refusal of co-dominion in Egypt. Further, Crispi's high-handed attitude towards Abyssinia and the astuteness of the Negus added to the embarrassments and difficulties.

The appointment of Martini as civil governor of Erythrea marked the inauguration of a radical change of policy, removing the colony, as it did, from the bellicose influence of the military, who, by their

imperious attitude towards Menelik, coupled with their ineptitude, had nearly wrecked the whole enterprise. Many, indeed, desired that the colony should be definitely abandoned, which would have entailed a further loss of European prestige. Moreover, by wise management it was hoped that part of the enormous sums expended on its acquisition might be recovered.

But to accomplish this, quiet, unobtrusive methods were requisite, and this Martini grasped. The first necessary step was the organisation of the colony on a commercial instead of a military basis ; the second, the re-establishment of good relations with the Negus and the Government of Abyssinia. Martini had carefully studied the peculiar psychology of his African neighbours, and dealt with them in accordance with their mentality and customs. By such subtle and wise means he restored their badly shaken confidence in the Italians, and before long had obtained the good-will of one of the most influential chiefs, Ras Maconnan, the ruler of Tigré. Further, Martini liberated

the internal government of the colony from the bureaucratic bonds of red tape in which it had been entangled, rightly recognising that such methods are swaddling bands to a youthful land and hinder its free development.

Having established a friendly understanding with his neighbours, Martini was able to conclude amicable and often advantageous agreements concerning important questions. Thus he arranged for a reciprocal extradition of criminals, a measure that largely contributed to the suppression of the dangerous brigandage which had been the bane of the colony. He also instituted a commercial agency in Abyssinia, as well as other facilities for the exchange of commodities.

In order yet further to consolidate the good relations with his neighbours, he paid them occasional solemn state visits and received their visits in return. He managed so to ingratiate himself with the wily Negus Menelik that when this ruler learnt in 1906 that Martini was shortly giving up his post as governor and leaving for Italy he insisted

that they must meet again. This meeting was to have taken place at Borumieda, but, owing to the sudden death of Ras Macconnan, the Negus, who had already started, returned to his capital and awaited Martini there. It was a long journey to undertake, but Martini did not hesitate. He left Asmara at the end of April and reached Addis Abeba in mid-June. There he stayed till the end of July, and during this long stay he was the object of every possible token of esteem and honour, being treated like a sovereign. This reception enabled Martini to strengthen yet further the bonds between the States, and to obtain important concessions which enhanced and improved Italian influence in Abyssinia.

Among the many urgent questions which awaited Martini's attention on his assumption of the government was a pressing one relating to the confines of the colony, which had been somewhat indefinite from the first and had been rendered still more so by the war. It was due to his sagacious and far-seeing policy that the confines of Mareb

were peacefully defined, together with all the Scimazana and part of Acchelé Gurai and Seraé, and this notwithstanding the inclination of the Home Government to abandon those regions, limiting Italian occupation to the much-discussed triangle Asmara — Cheren — Massaua. In 1898 Martini came to an understanding with the English delegate of the Anglo-Egyptian Government with regard to the still undecided question of their respective boundaries, which were then arranged to extend from Ras Casar to Barca. Yet in spite of this careful delimitation, made on the spot, incidents of some gravity arose with the neighbouring tribes, which were chiefly due to the imperative need of the Erythrean shepherds to water their flocks in the river Carora, which had remained in Sudanese territory. This divergence, however, was also rectified owing to the good-will of both parties, the frontier being so altered as to eliminate these grievances.

Other negotiations for the delimitation of boundaries followed, among them in 1902

that between Erythrea, the Sudan, and Abyssinia, when a definite frontier was defined which avoided unpleasant and even dangerous controversies and conflicts. By this agreement the territories of Baza and Cunama became the property of Erythrea, and Martini as governor was the first white man to visit these regions. In the same year the Sultanate of Rabeita was also annexed to the colony.

Thus Martini during his term as governor succeeded in defining exactly the confines of the colony, except in a few places towards Abyssinia where the conditions of the ground do not lend themselves to a precise indication ; but as these regions are uninhabited, they are unlikely to prove a source of danger or discord.

Martini's activity in all directions on behalf of the welfare of the colony was untiring. One of his first acts was to transfer the seat of government from Massaua to Asmara, not only because this spot was situated more in the centre of the colony, but also because it was more healthy

and more easily connected with the chief places in the colony by means of railways and roads, which he recognised as necessary for the rapid transport of the products of the land to the coast. Indeed, he did everything in his power to render Erythrea self-supporting, instead of remaining a heavy charge on the Budget.

The question of public safety also required attention ; here again Martini did not follow strictly European lines, but adapted his police measures to local conditions. In an incredibly brief time crimes of violence and theft diminished owing to the establishment of courts of law where justice was dispensed, so that vexed questions were removed from private and irresponsible hands. He himself compiled a legal code suited to the needs and character of the colony, based, it is true, on that of the Motherland and in accordance with European right, but never losing sight of peculiar local conditions and customs. He also regulated the fiscal system and the land laws, and above all sought to develop the agricultural and commercial

resources of the colonies. One of the questions which engaged his attention and interest was the cultivation of cotton, to which the natural conditions were exceptionally favourable, so that it is hoped in time to make Italy independent of American importation ; but he never forgot, in selecting sites for cotton plantations, that nothing is so vital to the cheapness of cotton as quick and economic transport, and that it is cheapness which secures markets. The cultivation of coffee and wheat, too, was encouraged, and their export to Italy facilitated by a reduction of duty. Canalisation and irrigation work was also undertaken and barrages built wherever necessary, so as to irrigate by gravitation, for Martini knew that water conservation and supply are the main tropical problems. Further, experimental farms were established for the cultivation of tobacco, indigo, and other tropical products. Agriculture in all its branches was the object of his special care and study, including zootechnical and forestry problems, as well as tackling those diseases to which man and beast

are peculiarly liable in tropical climates. In short, Martini was indefatigable in developing the resources and physical characteristics of the provinces in his charge, in order to render them attractive to emigrants and thus to divert the stream which annually left the Mother Country for North and South America.

Nor must another matter be forgotten which further redounds to Martini's credit—namely, his successful endeavours to suppress the shameful slave-trade. Until his day the colony was not only one of the leading markets for this cruel traffic, but was also a place of transit, since the slave-dealers who carried slaves into Arabia embarked on these coasts. Martini, by a series of enactments, all aimed at the same end, was able after a while to announce the fact that the sale and transit of slaves had absolutely ceased.

True, Martini possessed almost autocratic power—an indispensable condition, as Mr Lewis Harcourt once pointed out, to the proper exercise of colonial rule, which must

not be a mere section of the machinery of the Home Government.

Martini certainly brought exceptional gifts to his post : a long previous preparation, a penetrating intelligence, sympathy, and enthusiasm, and, above all, that practical sense of reality and real needs which is not given to all. Hence he laid the foundation of the prosperity of the colony so securely that, when he left, others had but to follow in his steps.

It is right to mention that until Martini became governor the Italian Budget had assigned the sum of 17,000,000 lire (£680,000) to the colony ; but when di Rudini decided that it should be organised on a commercial not a military basis, this revenue was reduced to 7,500,000 (£300,000) and Martini was told to bring the expenditure within this sum. He not only succeeded in so doing, but before he left his governorship the colony almost paid its way—this, too, when there were certain items of expenditure to be included, such as the construction of railways, which not

only will not recur, but which will result in an addition to the revenue.

MARTINI MINISTER FOR THE COLONIES

In 1912, when peace was concluded with Turkey, the Italian Government created a Ministry for the Colonies, whose work was to be the regulation and control of everything relating to the old and new African conquests. The first to hold this office was Bertolini, one of Giolitti's henchmen, who had played a prominent part in the drawing up of the Peace of Lausanne. He did not specially distinguish himself in his new capacity, for which he had no previous experience, and fortunately he fell with Giolitti in March 1914, when Salandra came into office, and, with his sure knowledge of men and his upright character, called on Martini to fill the post which should have been his from the first. Martini brought to his new post all his usual energy, his first object being to promote the pacification as well as the political, economic, and administrative settlement of

Libya and Cyrenaica, without of course neglecting the other colonies to which he had so long devoted himself.

Unfortunately, all too soon after he took office, and while he was still busy with the organisation of his Ministry and the choice of his subordinates, the European War broke out, paralysing in part not only his good intentions but also his actions, and forcing him to give his immediate attention to contingencies inherent in this new and unexpected state of affairs. — Further, in so grave and difficult a moment for Italy the Salandra Cabinet needed the counsels of a man like Martini, and together with his fellow-Ministers he had to turn his attention to world-politics. It is, indeed, maintained that Martini was one of those best informed, and most active, after Salandra and Sonnino, in directing the attitude of Italy and leading her into the right path in this world-conflict. He naturally took a prominent part in the preliminary negotiations between Italy and the Entente, in order to establish at once what should be the future

relations regarding their respective colonies, so that interests might be harmonised and disputed points settled. The most important of these questions concerned England, whose African colonies have so many points of contact and so many common interests with the Italian. There exists in North Africa, and above all in Somaliland, of which both England and Italy own a vast section, a state of affairs which demands the most cordial co-operation on the part of the two nations; and now that, besides being, as always, friends, they are also allies, Martini thinks the moment is propitious for settling many outstanding points requiring solution. Most of these relate to water rights, so necessary in these torrid regions for the development of agriculture, and above all for the cultivation of cotton. That there is good-will on both sides is proved by the reply addressed to the Italian delegates by Mr Lewis Harcourt, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the occasion of the International Congress for Tropical Agriculture held in London in 1914: "It is a

memory of pride to us that British statesmanship played no small part in the emancipation and unification of the Italian States. I should be glad if it proved possible in the future for us, as neighbours in a new continent, to pursue a commercial *entente* which would contribute to the industrial prosperity of both our lands. I should like to see some of these savage tribes handling the boll rather than the spear, and I hope to see the gin of cotton some day replace the gin of commerce."

Except in this matter of smoothing the road for future understanding, Martini, owing to the European crisis, has not been able to effect much in his capacity of Minister for the Colonies. Still, in every way possible he seeks to deepen interest in and increase knowledge of matters colonial in Italy, where, owing to unfortunate experiences, interest in such things is but cold among the mass of the public, who do not as a rule look far enough ahead. Thus he encouraged the foundation and aided the development of the important Colonial Institute of Florence, an institution some-

what *sui generis*, and not following strictly on the lines of other establishments of a like character, its researches having a wider scope than merely commercial and technical objects. Its director, Dr Gino Gioli, is a remarkable man and a martyr to science, for he is quite blind, having lost his sight during a scientific expedition into Africa. He is none the less the moving spirit of the whole. In this institution the students devote themselves to scientific studies of the materials, botanical and mineralogical, which are sent home. It owns a school, a laboratory, and an information bureau, where those intending to emigrate receive, gratis, advice as to which colony is best suited to their capacities, what implements they should take out with them, and are told against what physical dangers they must be on their guard, etc. etc. : in short, everything is done to help them with preliminary knowledge and to smooth their path in their new life.

This institution, founded with modest means in 1903 by Dr Gioli, early became

the object of Martini's interest ; and the fact that it is now well endowed and progressing in public confidence is due also to Martini, who in his capacity as Minister has it in his power to grant the subsidies required by so young an institution. He naturally extends the same interest to the Central Colonial Institute and Museum in Rome, which possesses a fine collection of Erythrean flora, as well as to the Royal Colonial Gardens at Palermo, where tropical plants are cultivated in the open ; but the Florence Institute is his chief care.

When the world is once more at peace, there is no question that, hand in hand with England, and guided by so able and enthusiastic an administrator as Martini, the Italian colonies will become lucrative, and the dislike to colonial expansion, which characterises a section of the Italian Chamber and of the public, will be definitely overcome.

GIOVANNI GIOLITTI

A PERSISTENT canker in Italian public life has disappeared — Giovanni Giolitti as a politician is no more. The Palermo students divined rightly when, fearing that his nefarious pro-German intrigues might prove successful, they carried a coffin through the streets with banners inscribed : “Here, thanks to Giolitti, lies the dignity of Italy.” He fell from his dictatorial chair on the day when the Peninsula set her face forward to seek new destinies. Weary, arid, sceptical, devoid of moral force and idealism, he could not understand the country’s momentum of faith and sacrifice. He has long been in the rear ; he is now alone.

And yet this man who to-day is constrained to read in his hermitage at Cavour (Piedmont) the proud deeds of his land in

which he plays no part, this man who to-day is without friends, influence, and power, was for more than ten years the Dictator of Italy and for a long period imposed his will upon the country. Few men have compassed such a career as his with so few qualifications; no Minister has been less esteemed and more feared; hence it may be asserted that when Italy drove Giovanni Giolitti from Rome and declared war on the Central Powers, she threw off an incubus that for too long had weighed down her destiny. No one regrets him; he fell in such a manner that his very followers, the henchmen who had assisted him in his last anti-national endeavours, were ashamed to have upheld him, and ostentatiously flaunted indifference towards their former chief—a circumstance that only happens to such men as during their public career have reaped fear and respect instead of love and esteem. Giolitti's followers are not friends but servants and accomplices—men who followed him as long as he stood on the pedestal of power and could dispense



GIOVANNI GIOLITTI

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privileges and favours, and were just as ready to bow down to a new master and forget the old, for whom they had no respect. To fall in political life can happen to any statesman ; to fall at an historical moment may even at times be a source of pride ; but to fall like Giovanni Giolitti, not leaving behind a successor, a friend, a programme, this truly is an eclipse, an unenviable obscuration.

HIS YOUTH

It was not in his nature to respond to great or solemn moments. These took place abundantly around him in his native and proud Piedmont, the cradle of Italian unity, but Giolitti remained outside their impetus, a cold and impassive spectator. Born at Mondovi in 1842, he was seventeen when the war occurred in which Italy found her liberation, that fateful 1859, when drums and cannons spoke and Italy and France rushed together against Austria. From every corner of the Peninsula, from Rome to the two Sicilies, from Lombardy to the

1915
1842
73

Emilia, volunteers poured in, ready to give their life for the freeing of their land from the foreign yoke. Giolitti was of the age when most youths are fired with patriotic verve; further, he was Piedmontese by birth. But neither fact inflamed him to action. Later, in 1860, when the whole of South Italy was in revolt, and again in 1866, when Italy fought for the completion of her unity and volunteers came from all parts of the redeemed and unredeemed Peninsula to shed their blood, Giovanni Giolitti was not found in their ranks.

He is numbered among those who clap their hands over the doughty deeds of others, provided they need not emulate them. His is one of those dry, mean souls who are willing to admit that war may be a great and noble enterprise, but hold that to carry it out those others suffice whom chance has elected to shoulder a musket. While the whole of Italian youth fought and died for the national cause, Giovanni Giolitti was following out his bureaucratic career, profiting by the absence of others to rise more rapidly.

Briefly, his youth was that of an old man and his soul that of an official.

As an official he proved excellent—zealous, and above all punctilious ; in short, he possessed all the qualities needful to a good bureaucrat, and these qualities he has displayed all his life, thus laying the foundation of his fortunes. His tasks were always well accomplished, and yet were never distinguished by originality or genius. He was already then what a journalist defined him in later days : “a terribly commonplace man.” And since his lot had been cast in that epoch of economic and moral depression that befell the country when the first ardours of the Risorgimento were spent, Italy being naturally exhausted after her valiant efforts, to be “a commonplace man” constituted the best recommendation in the eyes of those in power, ever ready to scent danger when dealing with youths of energy and genius.

Endowed with a temperament of this character, Giovanni Giolitti entered the tribunal of Turin as Procuratore del Rè, a

sort of King's Counsel, though in reality English terms do not cover Italian ones, since the legal arrangements are fundamentally different. This position he held until 1869, when he was assigned a post in the Ministry of Finance. Here with diligence and tenacity he ran through the whole gamut of bureaucratic positions: chief of a section in 1870, chief of a division in 1873, Inspector-General in 1874, Secretary of the Corte dei Conti in 1877, and finally in 1882, at barely forty years of age, called to a post in the Cabinet.

In this way the bureaucrat had prepared himself for political life, and it is but just to him to affirm that his administrative career had constituted for him a useful school, for, besides giving him practical and competent experience of financial questions, it gave him a perfect acquaintance with the working of the great bureaucratic machine, a knowledge of the mechanism of all its various sections, and hence he was exceptionally qualified to create a clique of functionaries according to his own taste. His long

years of practical apprenticeship convinced him how important it was that the bureaucracy should be favourable to a statesman, and this explains why he was careful, after he came to power, to surround himself with men who were subservient to him rather than anxious to do their duty honestly in their respective posts.

In the same year that he entered the Privy Council, Giolitti was elected Parliamentary deputy for the city of Cuneo. Now, Cuneo is a small city of noble traditions, but not endowed richly with eminent men; and the Cavaliere Giolitti, who had reached the apex of his career, appeared a great man to his fellow-citizens, and it was easy to elect him with an overwhelming majority, all the more that he enjoyed the support of the Premier, Depretis.

Thus Giovanni Giolitti entered the Chamber under the wing of a Minister who has passed down to posterity under the nickname of the "Minister of Transformism." This policy of Transformism, or Opportunism, consisted in the absence of

a programme, in the subordination of the interests of the country to the purpose of remaining in power. That such a system was calculated to lower the moral status of any Parliament is obvious, and in truth the period of Transformism is looked upon as one of the saddest periods in Italian political life. Only one man after Depretis, its originator, and this only after many years, reinstated this deleterious system, perverting it to even baser ends with incredible tenacity ; and this man was the young deputy elected through the power of Depretis—Cavaliere Giovanni Giolitti. The pupil had entered the Chamber at an opportune moment to do credit to the lessons of his teacher and to master his methods thoroughly. Beyond question this first period of Giolitti's Parliamentary activity left deep traces in his mind, causing him to make the Transformist system the rule of his public life.

For a long period, therefore, Giolitti approved and followed the policy of Depretis, and became what is called in Italy "a technical deputy," occupying himself with

great assiduity with financial questions and economic problems. Even in the Chamber he remained a bureaucrat, and a person who knew him well affirms that he prepared his Parliamentary speeches as if he were about to write a book or a thesis on the theme.

What gave him his first impetus, helping him to ascend, was his attitude of opposition to the Finance Minister, Magliani, who has remained famous for his exposition in the Chamber of fantastic Budgets in which light was reflected only on the credit side, and the deficits were cleverly ignored. Unquestionably Giolitti's speeches at this epoch contributed to the fall of Magliani, and, by thus excluding from the Chamber the opponent of the Depretis Cabinet, brought him into harmony with the historic Left, whose chief at that time was Francesco Crispi.

But it must be noted at once that, though identifying himself with the Left, Giolitti was always the most impassive of the party, and that every energetic, robust,

powerful policy found the deputy of Cuneo dissentient, regarding as he did all public life through financial and bureaucratic spectacles, thanks to his bourgeois cast of mind. Thus Crispi's enterprising policy displeased him—he preferred the pusillanimity of Antonio di Rudini. In the same way he was opposed to the African expedition. In brief, in all that long period of Italian life, replete with sacrifices and renunciations that only ended with the Libyan War, Giolitti personified the tremors, the egoism, the indifference of the Italian petty bourgeoisie. His temperament was well adapted to the ineptitude of the times ; hence little wonder that in March 1889, after the fall of Magliani, Giolitti was called on to fill the post of Minister of the Treasury. In this post he devoted himself to the task of balancing the Budget, but in November 1890 he resigned because he could not agree with his colleagues, remaining out of office until May 1892, when he was called on to form his first Cabinet. Thus finally he had reached supreme power.

IN OFFICE, AND THE BANK SCANDALS

Up to this time Giovanni Giolitti had steadily risen in fortune and power without hindrance or drawbacks, indeed with remarkable and rare celerity ; and so long as his activities were restricted to the technical field no one opposed him. But, arrived at the supreme power, it was no longer a matter of regulating a Budget, but of giving a stable and safe direction to public life, of evolving his own political personality and revealing himself. These changed conditions brought their difficulties for Giolitti. In office his upright leanings became unstable, his fame for honesty shrivelled. The Minister grew aware that about him were brewing terrible dishonouring storms. Hardly was he established in power when the breath of obloquy began to blow. He had assumed office in 1892, and in 1893 there broke out the grave scandals of the Banca Romana, which are notorious still. For some time the banking world had been honeycombed with scandalous political

intrigue and intermeddling. The money deposited by the public in the chief Government banking institution, the Banca Romana, had been bestowed on deputies and senators in return for political favours and equivocal transactions. A crowd of petty speculators and spoilers, swarming round Parliamentary circles, had assailed the bank, generating a cloud of suspicions in the country which ended in open denunciations. In the Chamber the deputies clamorously demanded an investigation, which was finally conceded, while the judicial authorities opened a severe inquiry on their own account. It was then that Giolitti revealed himself. In this dejected moment of national life the head of the Government, and hence the personification of Italian honour, instead of helping to scotch the scandal, raved like a maniac and endeavoured by every means in his power to save and shield the guilty, suppressing compromising documents, corrupting and bribing right and left. He even went so far in his imprudence as to propose to King Humbert that Commenda-

tore Tanlongo, the director of the Banca Romana, one of the chief actors in the banking crimes, should be created a senator; while from the trial that followed there came to light that Giolitti himself, for his complicity, had received from the Banca Romana the sum of 70,000 francs.

It is impossible to describe the wave of fury and wrath that swept over the whole Peninsula and culminated against Giovanni Giolitti. No accusation, no insult, no atrocious epithet was spared him. Parliament expelled him, having first degraded (*deplorato*) him. To escape eventual arrest he fled to Berlin, while his Cabinet was forced to resign amid general opprobrium and disgust. To defend himself Giolitti found nothing better to say than to throw out an ugly hint that he had suppressed the missing documents because they concerned the King's person, thus endeavouring in his own interest to discredit the Crown.

Years passed and these events receded into the background. The easygoing, kindly Italian nation pardoned, or, what is more

likely, forgot ; and after the death of King Humbert, who refused ever again to receive Giolitti, he found the means to return to office and power. But the scandals of the Banca Romana clung to him as an indelible mark of infamy, and in the most solemn moments of public life, in the most historic Parliamentary sittings, Giovanni Giolitti could hear levelled at him the shout of "Banca Romana !"—a cry that caused even this hardened cynic to turn pale, since it was for him the most deadly of all insults. Again and again in full assembly Enrico Ferri, the Socialist deputy, would raise the cry, to be taken up in chorus by the whole Extreme Left. And yet again, in the early May days of 1915, when he tried by all means in his power to betray Italy to Austria, the cry rang out, and the episode that was thought forgotten revived in the public mind with redoubled force. It was once more remembered how a Minister of the King had upheld the robbers of the public funds and needed to flee abroad under the weight of a terrible and dishonouring accusa-

tion, and to flee above all to Germany, now revealed in its true colours as an instigator of crime and fraud.

For seven years Giolitti remained silent. After his return to Italy and to the Chamber he did not attempt to defend himself—he was mute. He knew it was useless to try to convince Parliament of his honesty. He preferred to resume his work, readjusting the clever web which the scandals had ravaged.

He had, however, taken the first step, and a very grave one, towards political dishonesty, and had doubtless formulated a plan of action that should have neither limits nor curb.

His later rule proved it !

GIOLITTI AND LIBERTY

The Italian public forgives easily ; like all Southern nations, it is both impetuous and oblivious ; it will rage against a man, and later accept him as a tyrant. Thus it happened to Giovanni Giolitti, who, after seven years of effacement and silent under-

ground burrowing to recover a position in the Chamber, was able in 1900 once more to clutch the power he had lost. The blame for this resurrection must be sought not only in the weakness of Parliament, but also in the fatal course of events which at that moment pursued Italy. Crispi, the valiant statesman who desired that his Motherland should be strong and bold, had fallen under the weight of the Abyssinian campaign that ended in the disastrous defeat of Adowa, despite the bravery of the Italian army. This great reverse lowered the prestige of Italy in the eyes of the world; and, as though this did not suffice, there followed the revolutionary movements of 1898, a year of famine and turbulence ending in the assassination of King Humbert, each and all circumstances calculated to disconcert the Government and to stir up among the people a frothy ferment in favour of liberty, which they desired to acquire at all costs. In the depressed condition of State authority the subversive and demagogic currents regained their lost

force. It was needful to restore the crumbling edifice of conservatism upon a solid democratic basis that should give liberty to Italy and remove the impediments that hindered the economic and political rise of the poorer classes. Thus grave problems of economic and political malversation had to be solved under the burning pressure of menacing subversive movements. Here was Giolitti's opportunity to reappear. He understood that, in order to recover his lost influence and court forgetfulness of the Banca Romana, it was expedient and adroit to offer his services to the party that had vilified him. He grasped that if he wished to rule he must become a democrat, a people's man, in order to gain the support of the group that had attacked him most violently. The word *Democracy*, as we all know, is a useful fig-leaf to cover the nakedness of many a politician, a talisman of immunity for the populace that does not scrutinise its minions with psychological insight. Hence after the events of 1898, which furnished the

spectacle of sanguinary riots throughout Italy, Giolitti placed himself absolutely and ostentatiously on the side of popular liberty, advocating freedom of speech, of labour organisations—in short, a series of concessions in favour of the working classes,—and affiliating himself in this propaganda with the Democratic and Radical Parliamentary groups. When in 1900 King Humbert was murdered and the urgent need arose to save the dynasty by reconciling the people to the Government, Zanardelli was asked to form a Ministry, and he brought with him Giovanni Giolitti as Minister of Finance. The Extreme Left, who had been his most bitter opponents in the Banca Romana days, passed over the fact in silence, preoccupied in fighting the Premier, who, while he was one of the most liberal Italy had ever possessed, was determined to crush the anti-dynastic and subversive movements. And Giolitti, in return for their indulgence, kept faith with the Left and maintained his propaganda for popular liberty. Hence when health

obliged Zanardelli to resign the Premiership in 1902, Giolitti became his successor, hailed by his party as the saviour of popular rights.

The Ministry of 1902 constitutes the only golden page in Giolitti's career. To the State, which had until then been guided by reactionary prejudices, he gave a modern direction. The subversive factions were no longer persecuted; there were no more violent repressions of strikes in favour of capitalists, no interdictions of workmen's associations. Instead the Government stood aside neutrally in the quarrels between labour and capital, allowed the red flag to be carried in Socialist processions, favoured the creation of labour unions and labour exchanges, and encouraged co-operative movements.

It can be truthfully asserted that under this Giolitti Cabinet Italy saw the chains fall from her and initiated her internal regeneration, for owing to this expansion of new forces the current of political life was refreshed and invigorated and an economic amelioration of the working

classes and the poor commenced, giving to the country an equilibrium and a security which hitherto had been unknown. Besides this, an important series of social reforms was initiated, which had long been clamoured for by the Socialist party, and constituted the basis of legislative reforms as liberal and popular as those of any land. It may hence be affirmed that Giolitti, in order not to subject his own conscience to scrutiny, scrutinised that of Italy, and, treading in the footsteps traced by the Italian Socialists, was able largely to heal the wounds which this examination had revealed. No wonder that the democracy hailed Giolitti as a new Messiah !

But to govern a young and restless country audacious reforms do not suffice. They need also the moral basis that Giolitti lacked. In the absence of a concrete programme he permitted the Liberal party, which was the party of the Government, to grow weak and nerveless. To the subversive propaganda he refused to oppose an energetic political direction, a national conscience ; and to-day, after

ten years, Italy feels the effects of this lack of political education, a serious deficiency which it is confidently hoped that the enthusiasm roused by the war against the hereditary enemy Austria and the hated Germans will make good. Giolitti with his policy of liberty had disarmed his enemies in the subversive ranks, and by favouring the working-men's organisations had clipped the wings of Socialist opposition. But in order to govern unimpeded, and according to his own will, he still needed to conquer the Liberal party. He planned to destroy it, to dethrone it for the benefit of the other factions in such a way that no political programme or party should govern the country, but the sole will of a sole ruler. Already, then, he aimed at a dictatorship. And for the Liberal party and aims a crisis set in. The dictator chose his Ministers from the most varied sections of the Chamber, from Clericals and Socialists, from Liberals and Conservatives ; while in Parliament were formed little groups of deputies who declared themselves to be unconditional followers of

Giolitti. Hence on the ruins of the historical parties which had ruled United Italy there sprang up a large personal party, the party of Giolitti. Only in periods of decadence has history recorded such personal régimes and political dictatorships; but Giolitti obliged Italy to appear decadent, imposing his baleful autocracy in a period of splendid economic revival, so that it was he who exercised a depressing influence on the times, not the times on conditions. In Parliament he had gathered around him a large number of obedient adherents, ever ready to come to heel, especially among the deputies from the South, accustomed thus to repay the assistance accorded by the Government to ensure their election.

But the worst thing Giolitti did—if there be any worst where so much is bad—was the incessant corruption he practised inside and outside Parliament. The whole State administration *nolens volens* became affected by “Giolittismo,” as the system came to be called, because only adherents and favourites of Giolitti could rise in the public service.

Even the police became a corps of political beadles whose chief duties were to protect the Government candidates at the elections. And the elections, especially in the South, were a series of frauds and outrages perpetrated by the Government against the will of the electors. Certain of these elections have remained notorious, such as that of Molfetta, where the maximum of impudence was attained. Not without cause were they stigmatised as "infernal elections."

Now, all these matters kept the State in a condition of shameful moral depression. Its authority was undermined to such a degree that even the constitutional parties regarded it as their enemy rather than as their guide and counsellor. The army, too, considered it in this light, since nothing was done to raise its prestige; and among the younger ranks of the bureaucrats there matured a dull rancour, a rebellious spirit which later made itself manifest in class organisations.

In short, during Giolitti's dictatorship the phenomenon was seen of all the pro-

fessional associations being contrary to the Government, from the railway workers to the very judges on the Bench.

This situation was utilised by the Socialist party to gain a large number of adherents from amongst the discouraged and disgusted members of the constitutional parties. It is true that Giolitti had in semblance accorded liberty to all, but he withdrew it by indirect and turgid methods, by means of politicians, prefects, and the police. And when it seemed to him that he had collected round his name too much hate and rancour, he threw out as a sop to the people the promise of universal suffrage.

Not in vain had he served his apprenticeship in the school of Depretis, from whom he had inherited the nickname of "Old Fox," and like him he became the indispensable Premier. The methods of Transformism became permanently his, and his programme consisted in praising to-day what he had blamed yesterday, in promulgating reforms to-day that yesterday he had combated. Of this the law of universal suffrage furnishes a

luminous example. In March 1911, Luigi Luzzatti, the Premier by favour of Giolitti, proposed to Parliament a project for extending the franchise. A few days previously Giolitti had declared himself adverse to any extension of the electorate, but when the project was presented to the Chamber he proposed a far more radical extension of the right to vote, and caused the Luzzatti Cabinet to fall upon this question, that Ministry having fulfilled the purpose for which Giolitti had upheld it. For its task was to save Giolitti the labour of regulating certain grave problems of national policy. For the dictator as ruler was something of a coward; his sway rested on condescensions, abdications, compromises, and when threatening clouds appeared on the horizon he instantly abandoned office, handing it over to some of his faithful lieutenants, and retired to the country on the pretext of ill-health or fatigue. Thus in 1905, when a storm arose over the State project to resume the management of the railways, the existing conventions being on the point of

expiring, Giolitti retired from the Premiership in favour of Alessandro Fortis, one of his trusty followers: on the plea of health, according to himself and his friends; because he did not feel drawn to solve the knotty question, according to his opponents. He adopted the same tactics in 1910 when the problem of the naval contracts came up for solution, resigning in favour of Luzzatti, who again was dethroned when the tempest was over. In this way the years passed on, and the profound demoralisation of the country was followed by a reaction in favour of probity and of healthful ambition, ripening in 1910 in the birth of the Italian Nationalist party.

THE LIBYAN CAMPAIGN AND GIOLITTI'S DECLINE

The period of political relaxation and sluggish submissiveness was about to end in Italy. The land had healed her economic wounds, and was reinvigorated with the blood of a new generation, proud, self-reliant, mentally and morally well trained, which

longed for an occasion to reassert Italian dignity before the world. Giolitti, who did not like adventures and took little interest in foreign politics, had always endeavoured to damp such interests among the people. "I am an abstainer from foreign affairs," he was wont to declare, as if, instead of being the head of a first-class Power, he were governing the Republic of San Marino ! His faithful friend Luzzatti propounded in the Chamber the theory that Italy ought not to concern herself with foreign politics, that she needed "the courage of cowardice"—opprobrious theories which the Italian people were no longer disposed to second ; therefore more and more adherents rallied to the Nationalist party, pointing to the Tripoli campaign as the commencement of a more virile policy.

Giolitti entered into the Tripoli war against the grain, because he could not resist popular currents ; nor did it procure him any applause or honours, which certainly he did not merit, for his diplomatic action in connection with it was deplorable.

Nevertheless, with this colonial war Italy had reawakened. The ferments that seethed in the nation found a new outlet, a wider channel; the finest virtues of the race were once more uppermost; and certainly he was not wrong who asserted that the Libyan campaign had given Italy what is far more precious than a colony—a strong national consciousness. Was it possible for Giolitti to govern a country thus transformed? No, truly not! He was suited to a land slack, weary, and decadent; he could rule the Italy of yesterday, not that of to-day. And in point of fact the new general elections, conducted on the basis of the extended franchise, returned a pugnacious, combative, living Chamber. Therefore in March 1914 Giovanni Giolitti retired from the Government, and his evil influence entered on its decline.

If only he had stayed outside altogether, if only he could have understood that the changed times required new men, if he could have renounced his mania for meddling, his love of power, his sunset might have proved

placid and even honoured! Everything had latterly been in his favour. He had been a nation's dictator; he had received the highest honour the Crown could bestow—the Collar of the Annunziata, which gave him the title of cousin to the King; he had enjoyed of late some triumphs and a certain popularity; his unhappy past seemed forgotten.

Instead he refused to remain in the shade, and endeavoured to return to office by working in favour of the Central Powers against the interest of the Motherland. It is all too recent history to need repetition. After Italy had denounced the Triple Alliance, for many years a heavy millstone round her neck, when, in fact, Italy had already decided in favour of war in order finally to satisfy her national aspirations and to complete her unity, when the voice of honour, civilisation, and humanity called,—Giolitti left Piedmont for Rome at the call of the German Ambassador, von Bülow, and with the aid of his former Parliamentary majority endeavoured to bring the Salandra

Ministry to a fall in order that the inadequate and perfidious Austrian concessions might be accepted, although he must have known that this would plunge the land into civil war. Never did statesman commit a more traitorous or more demented action. Giovanni Giolitti, the erstwhile protector of thieves and rogues, endeavoured to barter away his country's honour for the advantage of the foreigner.

But Italy replied to this deplorable action on the part of the cynical Parliamentary trickster with a popular uprising. The outcry of indignation was general; the whole nation rose in revolt; the public squares, the streets, were crowded with demonstrations aimed against this vile, boundless, intolerable treachery; the newspapers did not mince their words in denouncing Giolitti as a traitor. In Rome anyone who defended him ran the risk of being lynched; his friends were reviled and scorned; the country rang once again with the cry which had seemed buried and forgotten: "Banca Romana!"

The King rose energetically to the occasion, reconfirmed the Salandra Cabinet, and declared war; and Giolitti was obliged to flee from Rome secretly, like a malefactor, to avoid being murdered by the enraged people. He is now a ruined man. The honesty, the nobility of the nation, and above all the war, have liberated Italy in one single day from the dictator who oppressed her for ten weary years.

CHIEFS OF THE ITALIAN ARMY

As has been justly remarked, though Italy is a military nation, her militarism is never aggressive ; her army is not a privileged caste put on a pedestal and regarded as above all laws as is the case in Germany, nor is it, like the German army, a curse to the world. The Italian army is one with the nation in the best sense of the expression, and that it is so was once again conclusively proved by the Tripoli campaign, when men eagerly placed their services at the disposal of the country although not legally obliged to do so ; for, in spite of the conscript system, not every man is called upon to serve. Exceptions are made in the case of only sons, the eldest sons of widows, the eldest brother in the case of an orphaned family,

such men being regarded as the heads of families in the place of their father. Young men studying at the university or any place of higher education are also allowed to defer their military service until they have completed their studies. The Italian army consists of three categories: the standing army, the *milizia mobile*, and the *milizia territoriale*, in which men can be called upon to serve up to their fortieth year. Thus every year there is a large force of men ready for service, and Italy of recent years has at great cost set herself resolutely to obtain a thoroughly up-to-date army, perfectly equipped, together with the facilities requisite for rapid mobilisation.

The spirit pervading the Italian army is admirable. The *esprit de corps* among its officers is so strong that they always use the familiar *tu* (thou) in addressing each other, even though they may be perfect strangers; while the attitude adopted by the officers towards their men is praiseworthy in the extreme, a patriarchal spirit prevailing and the superior treating his subordinates as

though they were his sons. Discipline is of course maintained, but it is a discipline utterly unlike the heartless, cold-blooded Prussian system, which no Italian would stand. He must be treated kindly, and indeed cases of officers bullying their men, such as are all too common in the German army, are quite unknown in the Italian forces. In time of war, too, all needless formalities are relaxed, and the Italian soldier is intelligent enough to know when this may be and when he must obey blindly. In point of fact, the Italian makes a first-class soldier—a fact to which Napoleon I. testified, and which everyone must endorse who has had the opportunity of seeing the Italian troops, not merely during manœuvres, but when called upon to quell riots or help in the work of rescue after an earthquake or other catastrophe. If in the wars Italy has waged of late years she has not always been fortunate, this has been due rather to political circumstances than to military deficiencies. It is therefore more than possible that the German General von

der Osten-Sacken, who stated in his book *The Next German War* that for every two Italian soldiers in the field Austria need place but one, will find his calculations vastly mistaken. The Italian soldier's intelligence, his power of resistance, his alertness, and last but not least his sobriety and frugality, enable him to hold his own against any army in Europe.

A word, too, must be devoted to the Carabinieri or police-soldiers, a corps unique of its kind, to enter which a spotless family and personal record is required, and a course of training comparable in point of discipline to that of the Jesuits. Foreigners are fond of laughing at their opera-bouffe uniform, with their tail-coats embroidered in red, their three-cornered cocked hats with the coloured fête-day plume; but when they know the work done by these men, their gibes give place to admiration. It may be mentioned that the suppression of brigandage in Sardinia, Sicily, and Southern Italy is mainly due to the courage and ability of the Carabinieri.

Italy possesses a large fleet of aeroplanes, consisting of a number of squadrillas or little squadrons of seven units, four in use and three in reserve. Last August this fleet numbered about two hundred, but since then Italy has been buying and building aeroplanes and training pilots at a great rate ; her air-men, like her chauffeurs, being first-rate, distinguished alike for intrepidity and that quickness of brain to which the hand instantly responds.

COUNT LUIGI CADORNA

Incredible to relate, the man who to-day, with superb dash tempered with far-seeing prudence, is leading the Italian troops against the hated Austrian foe, is engaged in real warfare for the first time. General Cadorna never chanced to take part in any of the various colonial expeditions in which Italy has been involved during the past twenty years. As a warrior, then, Cadorna may be termed a novice, but no man could be found in all Italy better prepared or more fitted



GENERAL COUNT LUIGI CADORNA

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for the enterprise he is called upon to lead. This is in very truth *his* war. He has pondered it long, for it must always be borne in mind that the Italians did not regard their unity as achieved in 1870 with the taking of Rome. They never forgot their unredeemed provinces, though the time and opportunity to regain them had not yet dawned. For years Cadorna made himself acquainted inch by inch with Italy's eastern frontier ; he explored all its peaks and valleys, its passes and its mule-tracks, till the land held no secrets from him ; so that now, when he orders an advance, he knows exactly what natural and strategic obstacles his men will have to encounter and overcome. Into his capable hands Italy has confided her destiny, her fortunes as a nation and as a great Power ; and it would indeed be amazing, seeing what manner of man he is, were her confidence to prove misplaced.

His Youth

Count Luigi Cadorna, the present Commander-in-Chief of the Italian army, comes

of a good stock, of a family in which it is traditional to serve King and country, and which boasts many a patriotic and military glory. His grandfather, also named Luigi, fought at the end of the eighteenth century in all the Piedmontese campaigns at the order of his sovereign. His uncle, Carlo Cadorna, was a friend of the patriot priest Vincenzo Gioberti, who in his philosophical writings designated Piedmont as the leader of the national movement for the regeneration of Italy. Count Carlo also took part in the patriotic risings of 1831, held office in the first Cabinet presided over by Cavour, and spent the last years of his life as Ambassador in London. The present Count's father, Raffaele, fought the Austrians in 1848, and had the honour of intimating in 1849 to the Austrian General Radetzsky, whose memory is execrated in Italy to this day, that the armistice was at an end. In 1854 he joined the expedition which fought on the side of England and France in the Crimea. In 1866 he was sent to seize Trieste, and at Versa in the

Friuli (one of the first places reoccupied by the Italians in 1915) he put the Austrian army to flight. But the renewed armistice of Cormons forced both him and Garibaldi to retreat, on which occasion Garibaldi pronounced his famous laconic "Obbedisco" ("I obey") when the order to retreat was transmitted to him. He had hoped to have taken the Trentino; it is more than possible he might have succeeded in doing so, but the disaster of Lissa forced Italy to submit to a humiliating peace. Last, but far from least, to Raffaele Cadorna fell the great honour of heading the troops which restored Rome to Italy in 1870, on which occasion the present general was attached to his father's staff.

Count Luigi Cadorna the younger was born at Pallanza on Lake Maggiore in 1850. At barely ten years of age he was sent to the Cadet School at Milan; but before this, at six years old, an adventure befell him which might have cost him his life or liberty. He was kidnapped by a former steward of his family who had been dismissed for

dishonesty, and tried thus to revenge himself upon his old employer. This is how Cadorna himself in a private letter narrates this incident of his childhood :—

“It was about eleven in the morning, and I was playing on the lawn, when Mosé Brughera came up and under pretext of showing me a hare induced me to follow him. Of course, I ought to have asked mamma’s leave, but my understanding of discipline had not yet arrived at this point. Brughera sent a message to my mother demanding I don’t know what sum of money if she wished to have her boy back. But my mother, an energetic and courageous woman, did not allow herself to be intimidated. She sent the police and all our peasants to look for me, and herself searched the woods calling out my name. I meantime had to tramp the woods all the afternoon with no food except chestnuts and water. After a while I asked Brughera to take me home ; he replied that mamma had gone into Pallanza, and that for this night he would take me home with him to his house

at Ispre. Only then did I begin to feel afraid. I seem still to see his ugly face when towards evening, on the edge of a wood, he stood talking to his brother-in-law, probably discussing what to do, and evidently knowing that many people were looking for me. Finally—it was already dark, for it was January, about seven o'clock—he consigned me to three peasants who were passing, and himself made for the Swiss frontier. Determined as he was to escape, it was really great good luck that he did not leave me dead in the wood. But you see he was still a brigand of the rosewater type! My mother, poor soul, fell ill from the anxiety she had gone through, and my father, who was at Novara, came over next day, and you may imagine what he felt. Brughera returned home, I don't know when, and was arrested, but sentenced to only seven or eight months' imprisonment—perhaps because he did not hurt me. In 1863 he became a Garibaldian officer, but my father, who heard of it, had him dismissed. Many years after, when he returned from

America, he was stabbed at his house at Ispre and left for dead. I do not know how he really ended."

His Studies

Cadorna spent some years in the Cadet School of Milan, where he was soon noted for his intelligence, his vivacity, and his madcap pranks, which frequently landed him in the school prison. Yet notwithstanding his high spirits, he worked hard and carried off prizes and honours. At the age of fifteen he entered the Military Academy of Turin, and passed first in the final examinations. As, however, he was not yet eighteen, he had to wait till he reached that age before he could be nominated subaltern. After receiving his commission he attended the advanced courses of the Staff College, continuing to show the greatest interest in everything bearing directly or indirectly upon military matters. His leisure hours were spent in reading history and philosophy, thus extending his knowledge beyond the limits of the prescribed curriculum.

In 1875 Luigi Cadorna was promoted captain, and about this time he began to publish lucid, concise, and accurate monographs dealing with military questions, which are valuable to this day for the military judgments they contain and for their graphic treatment of offensive and defensive warfare in these regions. Before that date, however, he had already attracted attention by a study published in the *Rivista Militare* dealing with the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, an essay praised not only in the Italian but also in the foreign military press.

When he became major in 1883, his corps, the 62nd Infantry, was destined to encounter some important surprises with the arrival of Cadorna, who introduced into his regiment a system of tactics which he had evolved from his study of past wars and from his own intuitive perception. His subordinates listened with interest and attention to his teaching. Such zest for learning had never been seen in the regiment; the colonel, a veteran of the old school, began

by grumbling as he heard the young major dispose thus cavalierly of all the ancient tactical traditions, but in the end he resigned himself. The new major had inspired confidence in his officers, and this in itself made for the good of the corps; and after a while the colonel himself came to admire Cadorna's knowledge and ability. The views he then expounded to his men, amplified by experience and carefully weighed and sifted, are those now employed for the instruction of Italian officers. His *Theories as to the Use of Large Units* and his *Regulations for Combatants* have become the standard text-books in Italian military schools. In February 1915 he republished his work on *Frontal Attacks*, in which he lays down valuable principles for the use of officers. His writings on all these abstruse matters are so clear that even the layman can understand them. He emphasises the importance of developing individual initiative and individual resource; he would not have his officers blind adherents to a system, no matter under what circumstances.

This freedom advocated by Cadorna is in keeping with the genius of the Italian character ; but while thus upholding independent responsibility, he never loses sight of the need of cohesion. Perfect equipment and strict discipline alone do not suffice. He maintains that there must be amongst those in command a living co-operation of minds, one alike in their convictions and their aims. It is not possible, he says in the preface to his book on *Tactical Teaching*, to obtain real success in war unless healthful discipline in the ranks goes hand in hand with disciplined intelligence. The former renders the men tractable and obedient to their leaders, the latter makes those leaders capable of commanding them with that unanimity of theory and action which is indispensable for the achievement of practical results. His theory, in short, is that external and traditional discipline is not enough, and that the men who are to command must all be guided by the same principles, which must not merely have been learnt by heart as

hard-and-fast rules, but must have become an integral part of their minds, so that they may be ready to apply them as is required by the course of events as part of their conscious convictions. Only thus does that harmony of mind and will become possible which renders an army a ductile, compact entity without irregularities of movement or perilous independence of sections. Cadorna further strongly advocates rapid offensive tactics, which owing to their psychological influence upon the soldiery he regards as the chief condition of victory. And it is perhaps fortunate that he holds these views, for the Italian soldier, like his Latin brother the Frenchman, is by instinct inclined to offensive tactics, and finds defensive warfare very trying to his impetuous nature.

Cadorna's Staff Appointments

In 1881 Cadorna was appointed Assistant Chief of the Staff of the Fifth Army Corps. The actual chief was Count Pianelli, an able man, but stiff, severe, and anything but easy to work with. It was difficult to gain his

approval or esteem, but in a very short time Cadorna had acquired both, and Pianelli even went so far as to entrust him with difficult problems, and constantly requested his companionship on his frontier inspections. Cadorna, on his part, states that to Pianelli he owes invaluable training, and for six years the two men worked together in harmony and to their mutual advantage.

The Fifth Army Corps was stationed at Verona, the strongest and most important fortress of Northern Italy. Together with Mantua, Peschiera at the foot of Lake Garda, and Legnago lower down the river Adige, it constitutes the famous quadrilateral of fortresses constructed by Austria for the defence of Lombardy and Venetia while these provinces were still hers. Through Verona passes the trunk railway connecting the valley of the Po with Tyrol. In those days Verona was the centre of important military manœuvres, and Cadorna had heavy responsibilities put upon his shoulders. It is even said that Pianelli consulted him as to which generals should be placed on the

retired list. Naturally, all manœuvres at that time were conducted on the Austro-Italian frontier, and it was during Cadorna's long tenure of this post that he acquired his minute knowledge of all this part of the country, which his really phenomenal memory has imprinted deeply on his mind, and of which Italy is reaping the benefit to-day.

In 1892 Cadorna was appointed colonel of the Tenth Corps of Bersaglieri. The regiment still recalls with admiration this colonel of inflexible probity and, when needful, inflexible severity, who was yet ever ready to recognise and praise merit wherever he found it, whether in high or low. They still remember with pride the manœuvres held in the Abruzzi, when this great master of tactics led them in an enveloping movement which had been deemed impossible, and caused them to fall upon the enemy when that enemy least expected them.

In August 1898 Cadorna rose to the rank of major-general, and wrote for the use of his brigade a small manual of tactics, a work

which in an enlarged form has been reissued to-day, and is the *vade mecum* of all Italian infantry officers. In 1907 Cadorna attained to the rank of lieutenant-general, with the command of a division at Naples. Soon after, on the retirement of General Saletta, who had reached the age limit, it was generally expected that Cadorna would be called to fill his place as Chief of the General Staff, and his name was freely mentioned in this connection, eminent military men urging his appointment. To everyone's surprise, however, the appointment was given to General Pollio. This selection gave rise to animated polemics and discussions, from which, however, Cadorna held studiously aloof. He continued to do his duty, careless of the world's opinion, and when in 1910 he was appointed Corps Commander at Genoa, with the rank of commander-designate of the army in the field, his first act was to call on General Pollio to thank him and to offer him his cordial collaboration. Indeed, he was several times asked to give his opinion on important questions. Thus when the

defences of Genoa were under consideration in the Cabinet, Cadorna was summoned, together with the Chief of the General Staff and the Commander of the Genoese Army Corps, by the then Premier, Giolitti, to express his views on the matter. Ably and lucidly Cadorna gave his judgment on the subject under discussion, speaking for several hours on end, and citing dates and figures without any notes or previous preparation, so that Giolitti could not conceal his admiration and interest. And it was Cadorna's counsel which prevailed against that of his chief.

He is always ready, never taken by surprise or flustered. Thus in 1911 he was appointed to lead the Blue forces in the great manœuvres held that autumn in the middle valley of the Po. The mistakes of some subordinates placed his army in a position inferior to that of the Red forces, their supposed adversaries. Cadorna found himself confronted with a most difficult strategic situation. In order to repair the mistakes mentioned above, he had to choose one of two alternatives—either making a bold move counting on uncertain

elements, and thus endeavouring to regain the lost advantage, or executing an arduous and difficult retreat which would give him, according to the prearranged scheme, the certainty of victory, even at the cost of appearances, for in the eyes of the public retreat would spell defeat. Cadorna did not hesitate for a moment; he put aside all *amour propre*, he was not playing to the gallery. He executed a retreat, which was of course judged by outsiders as the defeat of the Blue forces, but was regarded by experts as the most difficult and splendid achievement of the manœuvres.

In July 1914 General Pollio died somewhat suddenly, and this time there was no hesitation. Count Luigi Cadorna was appointed his successor as Chief of the General Staff. His reputation as a professional soldier was now fully established, his rectitude, his lofty sense of duty universally acknowledged. Before taking over the command, however, he formulated conditions, for he knew what enormous difficulties awaited him, how neglected the army had been under Giolitti's

rule. He asked for unrestricted liberty of action and the supply of such means as he deemed necessary. The result of these stipulations was soon made manifest. Hardly indeed had he entered on the duties of his new post when the European conflagration broke out; and if in time of peace Cadorna thought it needful to provide for a possible war, how much more so now that the war had come—a war, moreover, in which it was obvious that Italy must sooner or later take part! Discussions and differences arose between Cadorna and Grandi, the Under Secretary of War, resulting in the resignation of the latter, followed shortly after by that of Tassoni, the Minister of War. At Cadorna's suggestion the post of Minister was given to General Zupelli, a man with whom he knew he could work in harmony, and on whose understanding of the exigencies of the moment he could count. To complete his staff he selected as his second in command General Porro, a man devoted to Cadorna and his ideas, whose nomination had, as we shall see later, a special significance.

There was everything to be done. Cadorna had to think of everything, from soldiers' boots to officers. He drastically purged the army of many an incompetent official, regardless of outcries and recriminations. Every leader had to be a proved soldier. Cadorna has no use for drones. Not until he was able to say to Salandra the simple words, "I am ready," were the negotiations with Austria, which had latterly become a farce, definitely broken off and war declared on Austria, despite the desperate efforts of Germany, supported by Giolitti, to galvanise them into a renewed semblance of life.

Italy has never yet gone into the field with such an army as she now possesses. It is even whispered (exact information nowadays being a forbidden thing) that Cadorna has accumulated supplies of every kind sufficient to last three years should the terrible struggle drag on so long.

His daily bulletins are models of their kind. Concise, accurate, they understate rather than overstate the position when favourable, and do not attempt to minimise it when

unfavourable. He wishes Italy and the world to hear the truth and nothing but the truth, and his bulletins do indeed afford a sharp contrast with the bombastic German and Austrian fictions. The traditional rôles are reversed : it is the Teuton who exaggerates and the Latin who is sober. These bulletins Cadorna writes himself. In the beginning the Government had assigned to him a journalist as secretary to give a literary flavour to his reports, as Italians are very sensitive as to style. But after Cadorna saw the first, adorned with adjectives and endowed with verbal graces, he begged that this assistant be recalled. Such window-dressing was not to his taste. He now writes his bulletins entirely himself, and in their unadornment they breathe his sincerity, and hence the public knows it can trust them.

A circumstance not generally known, and that also is due to Cadorna, is that the Italian mobilisation, when decided on, did not proceed upon the usual lines of calling out the various classes by public proclama-

tion. There was no public call to arms. The men were summoned by registered post-card, individually ; and only the best elements of each category were selected, thereby rendering the first army to take the field an *élite* army that should by their *élan* set an example to those who would follow. This fact explains the rapid, brilliant initial success of the Italian expedition into Austria.

All unperturbed, Cadorna pursues his course, regardless of the world's opinion, which to-day is unanimous in his favour, but which to-morrow some mistake of judgment or lack of understanding on the part of the public might turn to inopportune impatience. To this he is indifferent ; no outside influences can move him from the path he has marked out for himself and holds to be right.

His steadfastness of soul is reflected in his physique ; the union of strength and gentleness is revealed in his face. In his clear grey eyes there lurks a kindly smile. Despite his sixty-five years he is as robust as a youngster, an indefatigable walker and a

bold rider. All Italy looks to him in this the fifth war against Austria to wipe out the memory of the defeats of Novara and Custozza, and to complete his father's interrupted march on Trieste.

GENERAL VITTORIO ZUPELLI

It is only since October 1914 that General Vittorio Zupelli has held the important position of Minister of War. His nomination created some surprise, not only among the general public, who knew his name in connection with some daring exploits in Libya, but also in political circles, from which until then he had by character and inclination held himself aloof, and where in consequence he was quite unknown. His appointment was the outcome of a political crisis. Salandra, with his sure insight into political situations, knew that the moment when a European war was raging was not one in which divergencies of opinion could be tolerated among those whose duty it was to bring the Italian army to a state of

efficiency in which it would be ready to deal with any emergency. After the sacrifices both of blood and material entailed by the Libyan campaign—sacrifices rendered far heavier, as we now know, by the persistent anti-Italian intrigues of Germany and Austria, Italy's nominal allies—the army required a prompt, sweeping, and bold reorganisation if it was to be ready for intervention when such intervention became desirable. The previous Ministers, afraid of burdening the country with heavy expenses, had advocated a slow, gradual, and methodical introduction of the necessary changes. Salandra, however, knew that the time for such remedies had passed. It was a case of now or never, and desperate needs required desperate measures. Further, the political functions of a Minister of War must be in perfect harmony with the aims and views of those directing the General Staff. No pulling in different directions could be tolerated for a moment; unity of purpose and control was imperative.

In point of fact, the choice of Zupelli

was due to the expressed desire of General Cadorna, the Commander-in-Chief, who, besides esteeming him highly as an officer, was united to Zupelli in close personal friendship. He had chosen him some time previously to be his collaborator on the General Staff. This fact also aroused some surprise, and even adverse criticism. It was held to be unsuitable that a Minister of War, the administrative head of the army, should be a man who until then had been a subordinate of the Chief of the General Staff and was inferior to him in rank, besides being the youngest general in the army list. Soon, however, all recognised that in a crisis such as that through which the country was passing purely political routine and etiquette must be set aside. The situation was exceptional and had to be treated in an exceptional way. No differences or uncertainties of view could be entertained between the Minister and the Chief of the General Staff. And the public soon came to admit the wisdom of the choice, and to see, indeed, that no more fortunate selection

could have been made. From this time forward there reigned between the two high offices that harmony which had hitherto been lacking, and they fused into and complemented each other. This concord of spirit and work was further strengthened by the appointment, also at Cadorna's express desire, of General Porro to be second in command of the General Staff. These three men, one in their aims, studies, and temperament, formed a triumvirate of good augury for Italy's military destinies.

The first surprise at the selection, therefore, soon gave place to general public satisfaction. Not only were Zupelli's doughty deeds in Libya recalled to mind, but also a fact which enhanced his popularity—that he was an “unredeemed Italian,” for he was born in 1875 at Capo d'Istria in the Italian province still subject to the Austrian rule. Zupelli has had a brilliant military career. In 1881 he was gazetted subaltern, and from that date has rapidly ascended all the rungs of the ladder, and, with the exception of a short time in

command of an infantry regiment, he has always held staff appointments. That he knows how to gain the affection of his subordinates is shown by the following episode. His orderly was devoted to him, and during the battle of Derma in Libya, where Zupelli gained by his valour the Cross of Savoy, the highest military distinction the Crown can bestow, this brave soldier was by his colonel's side during the hottest of the fray, when Zupelli, defying danger, led his troops into the thick of the battle. Seeing that Zupelli was exposed to a murderous fire, the orderly ran forward to place his own body as a shield to protect his beloved master, a brave act which undoubtedly saved Zupelli's life. It is sad to be obliged to add that the orderly fell a victim to his devotion.

Is it not said that if we want to hear the truth about ourselves we must ask it of our enemies? In the light of present events it is amusing to note that the *Berliner Tageblatt*, when informing its readers of Zupelli's appointment in October 1914 as Minister

of War, wrote : “ Under General Zupelli the Italian army will soon attain perfect proficiency.” No doubt when the *Berliner Tageblatt* wrote these words the Germans still deluded themselves into believing that Italy would draw her sword on behalf of barbarism and inhumanity.

Still, whatever the motive, the *Berliner Tageblatt* proved a true prophet. In an incredibly brief time Zupelli brought the army up to the required standard. There were to be no improvised financial expedients decided upon at the last moment, should war be declared ; there must be no cheeseparing, no hesitation. It was a supreme moment in Italy’s destinies, and Italy must be ready to face it with abnegation and self-sacrifice. Zupelli showed his hand the very day of his appointment. He asked for an audience of the King, in which he made clear to the sovereign that he fully agreed with the line of action laid down by General Cadorna, and further urged the importance of certain other measures to bring the army as quickly

as possible up to the standard of absolute efficiency.

From the day of his visit to the King to the outbreak of hostilities and after, Zupelli worked perseveringly and energetically to fulfil his task. It was by no means easy ; at times, indeed, it presented difficulties to heart as well as head, as for instance when he, a son of unredeemed Italy, was called upon to quell premature popular demonstrations demanding immediate intervention on behalf of the unredeemed provinces. Then, too, he had to watch patiently and silently the underground diplomatic burrowings of the German faction who desired to keep Italy from throwing in her lot with the Entente, or at all events to induce her to maintain her neutrality ; for he knew he must not hurry on events for which the army was not yet ready. But intelligent patience is Zupelli's dominant characteristic, coupled with modesty and a stern resolve to achieve the results on which he has determined. An excellent speaker, he yet rarely makes use of this gift, preferring

actions to words, which he regards as too often superfluous.

Tall, wiry, pallid, resolute of aspect, he may be seen any morning in the streets of Rome leading from his home to the Ministry, in mufti, walking with a characteristic step, his head slightly bent forward, as though he were (as he doubtless is) solving pressing problems. If it be possible to catch his eyes, their frank, intelligent expression attracts, dimmed though it is at times by a look of pensiveness and preoccupation. It is of course a trial to so active a man that he cannot join his chief and his comrades at the front ; but that he is of equally great service to his country in his present post he knows, and he therefore resigns himself to being a soldier fighting far from the sound of the guns, while yet the moving spirit, heart, soul, and centre of the forces.

GENERAL PORRO

It was not until April 1915 that General Carlo Porro dei Conti di Santa Maria delle

Birrocce was called upon to co-operate with General Cadorna as second in command of the General Staff. The choice was a happy one, in view of General Porro's personal and military qualities, of the close friendship between him and Cadorna, and of the political significance of such an appointment. By this date Italy was on the eve of war, a war which Porro was known to desire, for, besides personal and patriotic reasons, he had an old family account to settle with Austria. In 1859 the Austrians had seized as hostage another Carlo Porro, the uncle of the present bearer of the name, and had treacherously murdered him.

The present Count Carlo was born at Bologna in 1854. He pursued his studies in the Military Academy of Turin, which he left as a subaltern in 1875. He soon passed into the General Staff, his career being as rapid as it was brilliant. Like Cadorna he made a special study of the topography of Italy's eastern frontier, a subject on which he published some excellent monographs. He lectured on this

branch with minute care and profound knowledge when called to the post of Professor of Geography at the War Academy. About the same time he brought out his *Guide to the Study of Military Geography* and his *Military and Geographical Vocabulary*, a dictionary *sui generis*, of great practical utility, comprising and explaining all dialect words and local terms.

On attaining the rank of major-general, Porro was made Director of the War Academy, a post which he held for over five years, and many officers look back with pride and pleasure to their time of study under him. Before accepting the post, however, he stipulated as a *sine qua non* that during the vacations he should be given a post of command at the annual manœuvres, for he held that he had been too long away from regimental work, and that this might militate against his teaching capacity. This voluntary sacrifice of all holidays caused his wife to make the melancholy remark, "For my husband vacations no longer exist!" In 1905 he was appointed Under Secretary

of War, the Minister being General Magnoni d'Indignano and the Premier Alessandro Fortis. His position was rather a peculiar one, as legally a man who does not belong to the Chamber cannot take part in Parliamentary debates. To do away with this anomaly he was asked to choose a constituency ; he refused, not desiring to obtain by favour a mandate which he preferred should rest on his personal merit and be obtained in the usual course. He declined to be indebted to personal favours and Ministerial wirepulling. Hence in order to make his presence in the Chamber possible when it was necessary for him to reply to the questions put by deputies, a special Royal decree was issued regulating his position.

In 1911 Porro became lieutenant-general, with the command of a division first at Verona and afterwards at Milan. In March 1914 he was suddenly summoned to Rome and offered the portfolio of Minister of War in the Salandra Cabinet. The call aroused general surprise, seeing that Porro was not

a member of the Chamber, and his refusal of the post was a still greater surprise ; but Porro quietly returned to Milan and resumed his uninterrupted duties, careless of the honour and advantages such a high position would have procured him. Only later was the inner reason of this refusal known to the public—a reason which redounds to General Porro's credit. While hesitating as to his acceptance, Porro had carefully examined the military situation and the condition of the army, and had convinced himself that if the forces were to be strong and efficient the annual budget for army expenditure must be raised by some eighty millions of francs, and that he must have for immediate needs the sum of five hundred millions in order to repair the defects and deficiencies he had discovered in the accessory services. The Treasurer of the day, Rubini, held that the country could not bear the additional burden, and refused to entertain the proposal, though ready to treat with Porro if he would modify his demands. But Porro was inflexible ; he insisted that his far-

reaching and complex scheme must be accepted in its entirety, since he deemed it essential for the defence and welfare of the land and nation, preferring to give up the position offered him rather than work on a reduced scale.

The memory of this episode was naturally revived when the European War broke out, and Italy was forced willy nilly to carry out Porro's projects. Then in April 1915 Porro was called by Cadorna to collaborate with him, to the general satisfaction of the country, which realised the significance of such a choice.

Like Cadorna, Porro unites moral force to physical vigour, a sane man both in body and mind. His mental gifts, his devotion to duty and discipline, his upright character, render him the type of man and soldier best fitted to deal with Italy's present emergency, and hand in hand with his colleagues to lead her to yet fairer destinies and to liberate her for ever from the German yoke.

CHIEFS OF THE ITALIAN NAVY

CAVOUR, that great statesman genius, too early lost to Italy, grasped in all its details the fact that Italy's chief strength, in view of her large seaboard, must be on the sea, for Italy is far more exposed to an attack by sea than by land. Indeed, Napoleon I., speaking of the future unity of Italy, declared that, "in order to realise the first condition of existence, Italy ought to become a great maritime Power, so as to dominate her islands and defend her coasts." Few, perhaps, realise that if an invading force landed in Tuscany it would cut the country into two parts. Hence, ever since the foundation of the kingdom the fleet has been the object of attention of each Government in turn, and the growth of the political and economic forces of the nation kept step

with the increase of the navy. For a while the fleet was represented by the not very happy union of the Sardinian and Neapolitan navies after the fall of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies—an unfortunate combination, since the uniformity of traditions was lacking, the Southerners retaining too many of those mediæval prejudices which distinguished the lands governed by the Bourbons. Meanwhile there still brooded over the young nation the deep depression caused by the cruel defeat suffered at the hands of Austria in 1866 off the small island of Lissa in the Adriatic, that “bitter Adriatic,” as d’Annunzio calls this sea, for whose mastery Italy is to-day waging so fierce a fight against her agelong and cruel foe. The disaster of Lissa not only cost the young nation many fine ships, but also wrecked many high hopes and enthusiasms. To avenge Lissa has been for Italians “The Day” to which they have looked forward and for which they have prayed since peace was forced on them by Germany in 1866.

Lissa, however, was to prove for the

Italian navy what Adowa later proved to be for the army—a regenerating disaster. The opportunity thus arose of renovating the navy, so that to-day it holds a not unworthy place amongst the world's fleets. This thorough reorganisation was due in the first place to Admiral Saint-Bon, who reconstructed the whole service from the foundation upwards, and also created the arsenal of Spezia, now Italy's great naval stronghold. It was Saint-Bon who, nearly half a century ago, was the first to invent those colossal men-of-war, the modern Dreadnoughts, building the huge *Danilio* and *Dandolo*, ships which produced a revolution in the world of naval shipbuilding. Saint-Bon's work was continued by Benedetto Brin, an engineering genius of rare merit, some time Minister of the Marine, who developed still further his predecessor's programme, which might be epitomised as a desire to revive for Italy's navy the glorious traditions of her marine republics. To accomplish this, he had to overcome difficulties and hostilities such as, in view of the results desired and attained,

seem incredible to-day. So great indeed was his ability that it is asserted by experts that every great change in naval construction originated in Italy.

And Brin, besides endowing Italy with splendid ships, also provided an equally fine class of men to serve on them. He suppressed the naval schools of Genoa and Naples and created in their place the Naval Academy of Leghorn, where an admirable preparatory military and technical training is given and that perfect unity of aim is inculcated which has led to the disappearance of those pernicious differences of system which were the bane of the divided schools. In the navy, as in the many Italian public departments, what is known as "regionalism" was too rampant, a state of mind due to the agelong division of the country, to its too recent achievement of unity, and, last but by no means least, to Italy's geographical configuration, so long and so narrow, which has hampered the formation of a single great centre of Italian life. This configuration, while in some ways an advantage, as

making for variety, is in other respects a drawback, which must always be reckoned with in any public department requiring centralisation of effort, such as the navy. Here its effects might easily prove disastrous, and the situation has to be handled with much tact and judgment. It is, however, being combated with ever growing success, and the present war is likely to put a permanent end to it, for it has completed the mental and moral unification of the land.

Yet another man of merit is Admiral Bettòlo, happily still serving his country, who has several times been Minister for the Marine, and has followed worthily in the steps of his predecessors.

This is not the place to enter into the strength and character of the Italian navy, but what may be noted is, that while in the early days her ships were built abroad, and at the time of the battle of Lissa not one of the contending units had issued from her own shipbuilding yards, now her whole fleet has been built at home ; and not only this, but Italy has also built for other nations.

Some of these building-yards are Governmental, others private or partly private establishments. These amalgamations include British firms. Seamen for the Italian fleet are recruited by conscription; all men of twenty years of age following a seafaring life must serve at sea for eighteen months or more. As in other sea-bound lands, the navy is a popular service, and the Italian is a hardy and capable sailor.

It may here be mentioned that the Italian navy is well equipped with aircraft, sea-planes, and flying boats, and that her pilots and aviators rank with the first in the world. Indeed, the naval air-service is, if anything, larger in proportion to her sea fleet than the English.

So much for the navy in general; now for the men who command the vessels.

THE DUKE OF THE ABRUZZI

The Italian Admiral who is best known and most popular abroad is, beyond question, Luigi Amadeo of Savoy, Duke of the Abruzzi, and cousin to the King. His



ADMIRAL THE DUKE OF THE ABRUZZI

Photo Central News

father was that brother of King Humbert who for a brief period sat on the throne of Spain, during which time there was born to him at Madrid, in May 1873, the Duke of the Abruzzi, only a few days before the "winter King," as he was nicknamed, abdicated his uncongenial throne. He returned to Italy and established himself in Turin, his native city, where the childhood of Luigi Amadeo was spent, like that of all the princes of his house, in an alternation of severe and serious studies and physical exercises conducted on strictly military principles, calculated to render the pupil both physically and intellectually superior.

The young Prince early showed that he possessed unusual mental gifts, inherited, doubtless, from his mother, a non-Royal Princess della Cisterna, a woman of rare intellect. Above all, he gave proof of his interest in all matters pertaining to the sea, and was therefore sent at the tender age of eleven to the Naval Academy of Leghorn, where he studied with assiduity and was a favourite with masters and his fellow-pupils

for his diligence and his upright character. No difference of treatment was accorded to him because of his rank, and this helped to emphasise the innate democratic leanings which he possesses in common with most members of the House of Savoy, leanings making him popular and beloved by those whom his position calls on him to command, but whose needs he understands and with whose feelings he can sympathise.

In 1889, at only sixteen years of age, Luigi Amadeo of Savoy left the Naval Academy, after receiving his commission, which he gained solely by personal merit and diligence. A few weeks after, he began his ocean travels as an ordinary officer, doing his work afloat like any other man of his grade. His first trip took him to South America, his father, the ex-King of Spain, dying during his absence. Other important voyages acquainted him with the Atlantic and East Africa. In 1894, on board the *Cristoforo Colombo*, he made a voyage round the world lasting two years, during which he displayed even more markedly

his studious inclinations and his thorough grasp of his profession, as well as gaining the affection and respect of his superiors and subordinates.

In view of his high rank and his personal wealth, both of which could have procured him the social privileges which most young men appreciate, it is remarkable that this Prince preferred to distinguish himself by noble and arduous undertakings rather than to lead an easy, indolent existence. He is an enthusiastic sailor, and an equally enthusiastic climber. The vast ocean and the unexplored glaciers are the favourite haunts of this exceptional scion of a Royal house. It is said that the Count of Turin thus summed up the characteristics of the three brothers: "Emanuel [the Duke of Aosta] is the beauty of the family; Luigi [the Duke of the Abruzzi] is the learned one; and I am the good fellow!"

It was after serving a climber's apprenticeship on the Italian Alps, by no means easy in places, that the Duke began his series of more ambitious ascents, the first being

that of Mount St Elias in Alaska, hitherto a virgin peak. This was in 1897, and the matter roused great geographical interest and laid the foundations of his fame as an explorer.

In 1899, after long, minute, and costly preparations, the Prince started on another no less arduous enterprise, a voyage to the North Pole. He returned from this Arctic expedition—after having approached more nearly to the Pole than Nansen, who up till then had held the record—covered with glory, but having lost the tips of several fingers as the result of frost-bite. The story of this polar journey is told in a book supervised by the Prince and partly written by him, of which an English translation exists. It was in the Arctic regions that he became so closely associated with his friend Umberto Cagni, himself now an admiral, who aided him in planting the Italian flag in those arid, lifeless climes.

Between 1902 and 1905 the indefatigable Prince once more voyaged round the world. Meanwhile he had risen in his naval career,

having been promoted to the rank of rear-admiral in 1905.

In 1906 he determined to ascend the hitherto unexplored summit of Ruwenzori in Central Africa, and followed up this bold and successful feat in 1909 by an ascent of Karakoram, one of the highest untrodden peaks of the Himalayas.

Nor must these enterprises be regarded in the light of princely sport. On the contrary, the Duke's aims are always scientific, and the expeditions were begun and carried out with the greatest method and after exhaustive preliminary studies. He also selected his companions carefully from the ranks of distinguished scientific men, and invariably brought back valuable observations and collections.

No wonder that the Prince became a popular hero round whom many romantic tales gathered of adventures on sea and land, of perils escaped and hardships endured. And that these legends, more or less true, should be complete, there was needed also the note of love, which must never be lack-

ing in an Italian hero. Accordingly, gossip and even the newspapers talked of a projected marriage with a pretty American girl of no social position; and for long society was sharply divided into those who applauded the Duke for his democratic resolve to marry where affection pointed, and those who felt convinced that so unequal a union could not eventually conduce to happiness. However, the marriage did not take place, and after a while was talked of no more.

More serious matters came to the fore. In 1911 took place the Tripoli campaign, which, however unjustly and somewhat ignorantly criticised abroad, resulted in a further unification of the Italians such as had not been seen since 1848, at the time of the first war with Austria, and which the present war has completed. The hostilities against Turkey were initiated by the fleet with a flotilla of torpedo-boats under the command of the Duke of the Abruzzi. With rapidity of action the Duke's ships destroyed the Turkish torpedo-boats stationed near Prevesa in Epirus, thus protecting the

transports from any possible attack from the opposite shores of the Adriatic. The fleet would have accomplished yet more, but suddenly all further naval operations on this coast ceased. The country had counted on its beloved Prince: was he going to disappoint it? Meantime he was fuming at the inaction imposed on him, and it is said that he telegraphed to his cousin the King asking if he should order himself a suit of civilian clothes, since his naval uniform was clearly not required! Only much later did it become known that Austria, Italy's so-called ally—who now cries out *urbi et orbi* against Italy's "faithlessness," inspired no doubt thereto by her mentor, Germany—had prohibited Italy from attacking the Turkish fleet, which at that moment could easily have been annihilated. It is not needful here to speak of other malign impediments placed openly and secretly by the two Central Powers in the way of Italy's action in Libya, intrigues from which she is suffering to this day. Well might Italy say, "Defend me from my friends!" But now at last the iron chain

of this nefarious pact is severed, and the Duke of the Abruzzi, appointed in August 1914 to the chief command of the Italian navy, is supported by the whole nation in the hope that it may be his lot to avenge the repeated and increasing Austrian insults, and to add to his laurels those of a successful naval commander.

What is less familiar about the Duke is the fact that he possesses a ready wit, and, though not a great talker, when he does speak he does so to some purpose. For example, in May 1914, before the war, the Duke happened to pay a brief visit to Durazzo, then still under the puppet rule of the Prince of Wied. A reception was held in the Duke's honour at the Italian Legation, and a journalist on this occasion asked the Duke if he had ever been to Durazzo before. "Several times in my youth," replied the Prince; and then, looking in the direction of the Austrian Minister, who stood near, added, "And I wanted to return two years ago but . . . I could not. Do you remember?" The slightly veiled allusion

to Austria's interference with the Duke's proposed energetic action in the Adriatic during the Libyan War was understood by the Austrian, who turned pale and moved away. On the same day the Prince of Wied, who had omitted to greet the Duke on his arrival, invited him to dine at the konak (palace), which the German and Austrian workmen had restored as far as possible to some appearance of decency, as it was a ramshackle place. After dinner, in friendly discourse, the Prince of Wied professed great satisfaction at finding himself at Durazzo as Prince, or rather King, of Albania. But since up to that moment he had talked about the konak, its imperfections, the need to build a more modern abode, the Prince's discourse might be regarded as ambiguous. "I am really most happy to be here," repeated the Prince of Wied, without specifying whether he referred to the konak or to Albania. The Duke, smiling his usual half-mocking smile, said quietly, "And does your Highness count on staying here long?"

GIOVANNI BETTÒLO

Though he was withdrawn for a while from active service owing to his having reached the age limit of sixty-five years laid down in the Italian navy, Giovanni Bettòlo, even when only able to work for his beloved navy behind the scenes, so to speak, would be far too influential a personage to be omitted from this survey. He is a happy combination of a scientific naval expert, a calm, cool-headed politician, a society man, and a delightful *causeur* full of witty, sprightly anecdotes, graphic verbal pictures of his voyages and adventures. By birth he is a Ligurian, for Genoa is his birthplace (1846), but his family belong to the Trentino, that unredeemed Italian province which Italy aims at winning back for the Mother Country. And Bettòlo curiously unites in his person the characteristics of the mountaineer with those of the seafarer, indomitable tenacity being blended in his case with mental agility and that wariness said to be the Genoese idiosyncrasy.

Bettòlo entered the Naval Academy as a mere lad. He applied himself with such love and diligence to his studies that when barely twenty he was able to take part in the hopeless naval engagement of Lissa. This afforded him the opportunity of increasing his technical capacity and of grasping wherein lay the defect of the fleet.

He passed his youth and early maturity cruising and studying, preparing himself thus for the political career in which he made his mark no less than in the matter of naval discipline. In 1890 he entered the Chamber as deputy for Recco (Genoa), a constituency that has remained faithful to him. His competence in naval matters soon procured him a post in one of the four bureaux attached to the office of the Under Secretary of State who relieves the responsible Minister of Marine of many of his executive duties. These bureaux deal respectively with the personnel, shipbuilding, artillery, and the mercantile marine, and Bettòlo made himself intimately acquainted with the routine and needs of each section.

In the Chamber itself he soon was noted for the rare capacity with which he handled all these questions, and whenever he spoke the audience became attentive, for they knew he would not pour forth either rhetoric or platitudes. His eloquence varies according to circumstances. He may only state plain facts or controvert assertions simply and lucidly, or he may rise to real oratorical heights when occasion calls. Unforgotten is the well-pondered speech he delivered as Minister of the Marine in the second Sonnino Cabinet, when he advocated the acceptance of a project to increase the subsidies paid to certain lines of navigation which could not exist if they had no other source of income but passengers and freight. Bettòlo rightly considered the scheme as of great importance for Italy's mercantile future. The project was wrecked, however, owing to the opposition of Giolitti and his party, who favoured other but far less advantageous conventions, projects whose innate corruption was exposed by Sonnino when in opposition. Giolitti in effect was

handing over the benefits of the proposed measure to so-called Italian banks, which were in reality financed by German capital and whose management lay in German hands. On this occasion charges of corruption were hurled against the Ministers and Senators by the angered deputies, and a scene of disorder ensued, during which an inkstand was thrown at Giolitti's head !

When General Pelloux was Premier and reconstructed his Cabinet in 1899, Bettòlo was given the portfolio of Minister of Marine ; and though he held office but a little over a year, he was able in that short time to reorganise the service on more modern lines and to continue the naval programme begun by his predecessors, Saint-Bon and Brin. He was Minister again in the Zanardelli Cabinet (1901), and for the third time in that of Sonnino from 1909 to 1910. At moments of crisis he has even been mentioned as a possible Premier, as for example in May 1915, when the Salandra Ministry resigned owing to Giolitti's intrigues. But when called by the King, Bettòlo frankly

told his Majesty that he could do no better than confirm the Salandra Cabinet.

There was a moment when Bettòlo's name was on all lips and he endured days of great annoyance and unjust calumny. It was while he was Minister of Marine under Zanardelli that the noted Socialist deputy, Enrico Ferri, launched an accusation against Bettòlo charging him with malversation in the spending of State funds by favouring friends and clients in the matter of naval constructions and equipments. The whole Chamber and country were convulsed and agitated, for Bettòlo had ever been noted for his scrupulous honesty. The matter was brought before the law courts, and after long and heated debates Ferri had to withdraw his arraignment, which had not the shadow of foundation. It is to the credit of both men that, the incident once closed, they became reconciled.

For some years Bettòlo held the important and supreme post of President of the Superior Council of the Navy, which, however, he had to resign in 1912, as he then reached

the age limit established by Italian law for the retirement of admirals in times of peace. He submitted dutifully to this decree, although in full possession of his physical and intellectual powers. Indeed, it was even proposed to pass a special law in order not to deprive the State of his eminent services ; but Bettòlo was the first to veto this project, so as not to countenance any abnormal legislation, and also not to hinder the promotion of admirals junior to himself.

It was to mark his appreciation of Bettòlo's services that the King on this occasion created him a Count.

However, even when out of office Bettòlo never ceased to labour for the benefit of his beloved navy, and as President of the Italian Naval League he has helped to make the service popular and to make its aims more widely known among the mass of the Italian people.

In 1915 Bettòlo was quite unexpectedly and exceptionally restored to active command by a special decree dated 30th May, in which the Duke of Genoa, whom the

King nominated Regent during his own absence at the front, commanded that Rear-Admiral Giovanni Bettòlo should once more give his valuable services to the State. The exact name of his office is not permitted to be known, but it is assumed that he will collaborate with the actual Chief of the Naval General Staff, for Bettòlo is quite exceptionally well-informed as to everything concerning the Adriatic. Indeed, it was he who, as Chief of the General Staff, in 1900, directed the great naval manœuvres which had as their supposed object a war in this sea.

ENRICO MILLO

In 1912 Captain Enrico Millo suddenly became a national hero owing to the daring reconnaissance he made up the Dardanelles as far as Chanak, a raid that until then had not been attempted since Admiral Duckworth's similar exploit in 1807. He was the officer in command of a torpedo flotilla of four vessels, and with this force, at night, undaunted by the fierce fire from the

Turkish forts, was only prevented reaching and damaging the Turkish fleet by the strong wire defences he met with beyond the Narrows. Not a man nor a boat suffered, however, despite the danger incurred. For this feat Millo was promoted rear-admiral and decorated with the military order of Savoy. He is the youngest commander in the service, for he was then barely fifty.

But before the Dardanelles expedition he was known and esteemed, serving as Chief of the Staff to the Duke of the Abruzzi on the *Vettore Pisani*, the flagship of the Adriatic division. This post alone guarantees his competence, for the Sailor Prince chooses with the greatest care the men who are to work with him.

In 1913 Giolitti, then Premier, called on Millo to succeed Admiral Leonardi Cattolica as Minister of Marine, a post he continued to hold in the Salandra cabinet. Unfortunately, in October 1914, when in attendance on the King, who had come to inspect the Genoa Maritime Exhibition, he slipped on a piece of loose carpet and broke his leg

so badly that it was necessary, in view of the agitated political times, to find a substitute for him. Thus Vice-Admiral Viale became Minister of the Marine.

It was of course a keen disappointment to Millo that in days of war he should be unable to take an active part. To compensate him, on his recovery he was appointed head of the Naval Academy of Leghorn, thus returning to the school which he left with great distinction, after an interval of some thirty years.

LEONE VIALE

To Leone Viale has fallen the good fortune to be Minister of Marine at the moment when Italy was at last able to bring her fleet into action against the hated Austrians. But he also had to steer his way through the difficult months preceding the declaration of war, the months when Italy was forced to maintain the by no means easy attitude of neutrality. He was called to the post, as we have already seen, owing to Millo's accident, and when, after the

death of San Giuliano, Sonnino was made Minister of Foreign Affairs. And universally it was admitted that the man who had successfully commanded the Second Squadron during the war with Turkey of 1911-1912 was the right man in the right place.

Leone Viale was born in 1852 at Ventimiglia, that frontier town between France and Italy, so that he too belongs to the province which has given to Italy and the world so many valiant seamen and explorers. For was not Christopher Columbus a Ligurian? Viale entered the navy in 1871. Studious, of a serious and decided temperament, he possesses all the qualifications essential to the director of the complicated and delicate mechanism of the Naval Ministry. His long and frequent voyages trained him into an excellent mariner. It was to him that in 1911 was confided the command of the naval division which operated in the Dardanelles, and it was he who ordered the bombardment of the forts of Sedd-el-Bahr and Kum Kaleh and who encouraged Millo's bold raid.

Viale's organising talents were displayed on the occasion of the terrible catastrophe of the Messina and Calabrian earthquakes of 1908, when he commanded a naval relief squadron. The work he then did was so wisely directed that it gained for him the gold medal bestowed on those who distinguished themselves on this disastrous occasion.

To-day Viale is somewhat saddened by the thought that he cannot take part in the war against Austria as commander of one of Italy's superb battle-ships, but doubtless the very natural regret of the man of action will be tempered by the thought that in this office of supreme director of the Italian navy¹ he can serve his country no less and perchance even more effectively, for to him as well as to his immediate predecessors is due the present acknowledged efficiency and good organisation of Italy's fighting forces at sea.

UMBERTO CAGNI

After the Duke of the Abruzzi the most popular naval commander is beyond question

¹ Since this was written Corsi has been appointed Minister of Marine.

Admiral Umberto Cagni, a really heroic figure, who has taken his share in many arduous adventures. The first to recognise his rare qualities was the Duke of the Abruzzi. With his sure discerning eye for men of worth, he at once selected him as his companion on his scientific expeditions. It was during the Polar exploration of 1899-1900 that this companionship ripened into a close friendship. The important part played by Cagni during this expedition has been minutely and faithfully recorded in the Prince's book. The party left Archangel on the *Stella Polare*, the vessel the Duke had bought in Norway and fitted up and equipped for a Polar expedition. After great difficulties, caused by the state of the ice, the vessel reached the bay of Teplitz in Prince Rudolph's Land, where they were forced to pitch their tents and winter. For six sunless months they camped here, their sledge expeditions proving fruitless owing to the bad state of the ice, which made it perilous, not to say impossible, to proceed further north. Meanwhile they had to

watch the vessel that was to reconduct them home slew to one side and hear her crack and groan under the relentless pressure of the ice-blocks. When the spring came at last, an expedition was organised under the command of Cagni. The Duke, to his intense regret, could not join it, two of his fingers having been frozen during a reconnaissance he had made in the course of the winter. The sledge expedition was divided into three sections, which were to remain away a certain number of days. The second party returned to camp at the appointed time; the first was never heard of again, and the names of its members must be added to the martyrology of the Pole; the third, led by Cagni, reached lat. $86^{\circ} 33'$, thus beating Nansen's record, but was forced to turn back owing to lack of provisions, to Cagni's keen disappointment. The return journey proved even more trying than the outward one; and in the end, in order to keep body and soul together, the party was obliged to kill and eat the faithful dogs which had carried them so

far in safety—a necessity which grieved Cagni deeply.

This Arctic expedition tried the physical fibre of all its members severely, and left indelible traces behind it. Cagni on his return to Italy had to have a finger amputated in consequence of frost-bite. Nothing daunted, however, he resumed his naval career, and was soon after appointed commander. In 1911 the Tripoli campaign took place, when Cagni was the hero of a notable exploit. He had been chosen to command a small landing corps consisting for the most part of young sailors and midshipmen belonging to the training-ships *Emanuel Filiberto*, *Sicilia*, and *Carlo Alberto*. They were told off to occupy the town of Tripoli and maintain order. This was believed to be an easy task, as the Turks had retired into the interior and the Arab notables had given assurance that there was no danger. It was, however, a trap, and on October 12, 1911, Cagni and his handful of youths had to make a fierce fight near Ba-Meliano against Turks and Arabs

in overwhelmingly superior numbers. It was due entirely to the extraordinary ability of Cagni, his personal valour and cool-headedness, that these young sailors not only conquered in the fight, but were able to hold the town for a week, to build entrenchments round it and repel the foe, thus paving the way for the landing of the expeditionary force under General Caneva. Cagni, by a series of clever ruses quite Homeric in character, led the enemy to believe that he commanded a strong force, making his men run here and appear there, wherever he thought the Turks meditated an attack. These really daring manœuvres, and the manner in which Cagni's men carried out the orders of their adored and blindly trusted commander, earned for them the name of "Garibaldians of the sea," of which they are justly proud. Various honours were bestowed upon them, they were fêted on their return home, and Cagni himself was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral.

Now he is once more called into action, and Italy may confidently look for yet other

bold deeds from this dauntless sailor, whose ruses and resources emulate those of the wily Ulysses himself.

PAOLO THAON DÌ REVEL

When the first official despatches telling of the exploits of the Italian fleet in the Adriatic appeared in the press signed "Thaon dì Revel," everyone asked, "Who is he?"—so little was known of the man who occupies the important post of Chief of the Naval General Staff. Modest to a degree, he does not like to be talked of. He is a man of action, not of words, impenetrably secretive regarding his office, to the duties of which he applies himself with conscientious assiduity. And here it may incidentally be remarked that, contrary to popular notions abroad, Italians are a singularly modest, not a vainglorious people; and the more capable an Italian is, the less does he put himself forward or desire to be talked about.

In the past years dì Revel has laboured quietly, unobtrusively, earnestly to bring the

navy to that high standard of perfection which should enable it to meet every possible foe. His task was rendered easier since he had long held this post, this not only effecting happy unity of aim in his office, but also helping to establish that reciprocal understanding and unanimity of points of view needful if important operations are to be successfully carried out, the executive and the administrative being fully in accordance, an essential factor whose absence England had recently to deplore. It is well to insist on this long holding of office by *dì Revel*, because it proves how highly his abilities are esteemed, so that, while other Ministers of Marine change, he remains permanently responsible to Parliament and the nation for naval matters. It is important, too, in view of what the future may hold in store for the Italian navy, to know that *Thaon dì Revel* and the Duke of the Abruzzi, the Commander-in-Chief of the fleet, have absolutely identical views and aims, and that a cordial friendship and perfect understanding exist between them. There is con-

sequently no pulling in different directions, no clash of personal ambitions.

Thaon di Revel belongs to an ancient and noble Piedmontese family, in which it is traditional to serve the King in either the army or the navy. The present Count was born in 1859, and is therefore in the full maturity of his powers. He obtained his commission at the age of eighteen, and rapidly passed through the various naval grades, becoming rear-admiral in 1910 and vice-admiral in 1913.

LUIGI LUZZATTI

FEW Italian political men are so well known, at least outside the Peninsula, as Luigi Luzzatti. At home his untiring political, economic, and scientific activity, his long Parliamentary career, have kept him constantly before the public eye. Abroad he is known because he negotiated important commercial treaties and represented Italy at international congresses, while his writings have had the honour of being translated into several foreign languages. He has indeed been termed the "Admirable Crichton" of Italy, for his interests range from the Scotch Kirk to Buddhism, from temperance reforms to the conversion of the Funds, while he has been known to sing Solomon's "Hymn to Liberty" in modern Greek during the brief interval of his laborious leisure. Among

the many really eminent financiers whom Italy has had the good fortune to produce since she became a kingdom, beginning with Quintino Sella, few have proved more useful to her than Luigi Luzzatti. He is, moreover, the most encyclopædic man in the kingdom : an intellect of wide range, embracing many and divers subjects and practising them all. He even brought imagination into the arid domain of finance, and to this quality is doubtless due the success of his measures. This may be the reason why Sonnino, a more austere intellect, sometimes considered Luzzatti's programmes too visionary.

HIS YOUTH

Luigi Luzzatti was born in Venice in 1841, of a rich Jewish family. He early evinced remarkable precocity of intellect, and already at fourteen years old he had distinguished himself at school in the study of literature, history and philosophy, natural science and religion, thus as a mere lad indicating the spheres of learning which were to be of never-failing interest to him

in after life. He was always at the top of his class both at school in Venice and at the University of Padua, where at the unusually early age of twenty he took his degree of doctor of law.

It is narrated how someone who wished to see him when he was still a schoolboy called at his parents' house. Luigi was out; on asking the elder Luzzatti where his son was to be found, the father replied that he would find him in the Piazza S. Marco. "But I have not the advantage of knowing your son by sight," said the visitor; to which Luzzatti senior answered: "Listen: go into the Piazza S. Marco, and if you see a group of people, and among them one who talks more and louder than the rest, and gesticulates more too, that is my son!"

The close of his university career by no means closed his studies for him; it merely broadened and extended them, turning his attention first to political economy, that he might master the problems which urgently clamoured for solution in order to aid the regeneration of Italy as a nation.

Almost immediately after taking his degree he had to leave his native Venice, then still under Austrian rule, because that Government, always suspicious of open-minded young men and scenting sedition in all and sundry, proposed to prosecute him for high treason, which would of course have meant his condemnation and exile, perhaps for life, to some Austrian dungeon. And what was this high treason? The organisation of a friendly society amongst the gondoliers.

On this account Luzzatti emigrated to Milan (which had thrown off the Austrian yoke in 1859), where he published a book on *Popular Banks and the Diffusion of Credit*, a work that instantly attracted attention, in which he clearly outlined the economic programme that constitutes the vocation to which he has devoted his public life—that is to say, the moral and material elevation of the working classes. This book also brought him the appointment of Professor of Political Economy in the Technical Institute of Milan, and here he continued to

make propaganda for the popular banks, several of which he founded at Milan and various places in Lombardy, to the great benefit of his humbler fellow-countrymen. Thus the small cultivators were taught the machinery of credit, their savings were secured for them, they could obtain advances even upon produce ; in fact, the solution of the question of agricultural credit was found. Luzzatti also instituted for these banks the issue of agricultural debenture bonds to increase the funds at their disposal, paying 4 and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on these debentures, which usually cost about 500 francs (£20).

Luzzatti was not one of those who believe with Proudhon and the Positivists that the social question can be solved by perfecting the mechanism of credit and exchange. The social question is a matter of distribution, not of circulation. But popular banks contribute considerably to production, and their indirect services are of great value, as wherever they are established they put an end to usury and thus form centres of economic progress.

It was owing to this community of views regarding popular banks that Luzzatti became the intimate friend of Schultze Delitzsch, the founder of people's banks in Germany ; and all through his long life Luzzatti has promoted the creation of such institutions in Italy, in which the subscribers, all contributors of small sums, receive credit and dividends in proportion to their savings, the joint credit of the association being used for borrowing money, and the bank being managed by a board of shareholders. The estimated capital of the popular banks is nearly 2,000,000,000 francs, and their number and capital are both steadily increasing. Both in his writings and his speeches Luzzatti preached self-help to the people, together with responsibility and self-reliance as the condition of their economic independence and their political freedom ; and, encouraged by the example of the Rochdale pioneers, he formed the first Co-operative Society of Consumers in Italy in the teeth of both open and secret opposition.

At the Paris Exhibition of 1867 Luzzatti received an extraordinary and individual prize assigned to him by Napoleon III. for his good work on behalf of the labouring classes. The president of the Italian section of the Exhibition was Marco Minghetti, the eminent statesman of the early Risorgimento days, the writer on political economy, a man whom the young Luzzatti had always ardently admired. It was here in Paris on this occasion that he made the personal acquaintance of Minghetti, and there grew up between them an intimacy as between a son and a spiritual father, which determined Luigi Luzzatti's political career.

Meanwhile Venetia had been freed from the rule of the double-headed eagle, "that hateful bird," and Luzzatti was appointed Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Padua after publishing a work on the laws relating to Church and State in Belgium, with special reference to this problem in Italy. He now promoted the foundation of popular banks in Venetia on the same plan as those he had created in

Lombardy, as well as other institutions for the encouragement of thrift. Minghetti having been called to the Cabinet in 1869 as Minister of Agriculture, he elected Luzzatti as his Secretary-General, so that Luzzatti became a Vice-Minister ere he was or could become a deputy, for which the age is thirty. Given his age and the fact that he was not a member of Parliament, the circumstances were unprecedented, nor have they ever been repeated.

The political economy of the Italian State in those days inclined towards the economic theories of Bastiat, that decided opponent of the system of protection. Luzzatti, who had in all his writings upheld the function of the State, carried his theories with him into the Government and advocated and applied his humanitarian measures on behalf of the lower classes. The institution of "Councils of Thrift and Labour" is his work ; he was the first to create such boards in any civilised land. Until 1873 Luzzatti remained in the Ministry of Agriculture, laying a solid foundation for popular instruc-

tion in technical and agricultural matters, introducing sweeping changes in economic laws, and promoting new industrial life in the land by means of the Commission appointed by him to inquire into the manufacturing capacities of the country.

That seats in Parliament should be offered to Luzzatti was a matter of course, and in two cases he was elected by an overwhelming majority ; he could not, however, take his seat, because he had not reached the prescribed age. As soon as he was thirty he was again elected, two Venetian constituencies disputing the honour of being represented by him, that of Oderzo gaining the day. In the Chamber, seeing the fame that had preceded him there, he soon acquired a notable position. He naturally ranged himself beside his master Minghetti and the no less illustrious statesman Sella in that party of the Right then in office, which represented Liberal Conservatism. When in 1876 the democratic Left came into power, Luzzatti passed over to the opposition benches, until the later political and

Parliamentary vicissitudes so changed the divisions in the Chamber that Luzzatti, even as Minister, came to belong to Governments of the most diverse political opinions, in which the traditional divisions of Right and Left were obliterated. But Luzzatti's principles, though of necessity adapting themselves to the demands of the times, remained immutable in everything concerning finance, public economy, and State budgets, on which subjects he never wearied of urging the need for greater caution, inflexibility, and prudence. Above all else, in everything pertaining to public affairs in general and to national expenditure he pointed out the necessity of uprightness and truthfulness, constantly quoting his revered models Sella and Minghetti, who, according to him, "thought what they said, said what they thought, and did what they said."

Between the years 1871 and 1891 Luzzatti developed his most untiring Parliamentary activity, and some of the Parliamentary reports he then drew up were translated into

other languages, amongst them being those on the sugar trade, on the reform of the customs, and on monetary circulation, all of which indicated new lines of thought with regard to the finances and economy of the nation. During these years, too, he travelled a great deal in order to enlarge his mental horizon and to learn what other nations were doing in the department of political economy; he thus became acquainted with the chief statesmen and economists of Europe, such as Michel Chevalier, Frère Orban, Léon Say, and Gladstone. During this period he published his most important treatises on economic, political, and religious problems, amongst them being studies on Adam Smith, the British Constitution, the question of liberty of conscience—the last-mentioned theme being specially dear to his heart, for every form of intolerance is repugnant to him, and he terms it “moral deformity.” Indeed, so many-sided are his interests, so varied is his knowledge, that to enumerate his publications would be to traverse the gamut of

cultured interests. These writings range from criticisms of Spinoza's philosophy to a pamphlet on the protection of animals; from a commentary on St Francis of Assisi to a ponderous tome on banking. A work of his published in 1893 on *The Ruling Classes and the Workmen of England in the light of the Class-War* excited interest throughout Europe.

From the beginning of his public career Luzzatti was chosen to negotiate the commercial treaties and the monetary conventions of Italy, a position he has retained. In the years when the clouds began to gather which disturbed the cordial relations between Italy and France—disturbances fomented, as we now know, by Bismarck, which resulted in throwing Italy into the arms of the Central Empires—Luzzatti did all in his power to play the part of peace-maker between the two Latin nations. For a time all his efforts were in vain. There was too much ill-feeling and misunderstanding on both sides; it was too like a quarrel between near relations; both parties were needlessly aggressive, and ignored the racial

and historic ties that should have bound them yet more closely together. However, Luzzatti never swerved from his purpose, never grew disheartened, until in 1898, with the advent in Rome of the wise and conciliatory French Ambassador, M. Barrère, Luzzatti's faith and ardour were rewarded and he was able to negotiate a commercial treaty between the two countries after a tariff war that had lasted ten years and had been economically disastrous to Italy. The conclusion of this treaty was hailed with joy in both lands—for the struggle had been just as detrimental to France; and France, to show her appreciation, gave Luzzatti the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour and elected him member of the Institute in succession to Gladstone, whose eulogy he was called upon to pronounce—a grateful task, since he much admired the English statesman, and agreed with most of his financial views.

LIZZATTI IN THE CABINET

In 1891 Luzzatti entered the Cabinet as Minister of the Treasury under di Rudini.

This gave him the longed-for opportunity of carrying out many of the economic and social measures which he had studied and elaborated with much care and enthusiasm. And from this date onwards Luzzatti was nearly always a member of the Cabinet, as Minister either of the Treasury or of Finance. Sometimes, indeed, he held both offices, and in each his extraordinary ability and his enlightened views made themselves felt. He is rightly regarded as the restorer of Italian finance in co-operation with Baron Sonnino. Indeed, when he first assumed the post he not only saved Italy from national bankruptcy by insisting that no more debts should be incurred by the State and that Budgets should no longer be "manipulated," but gave her twelve years of economic peace, sorely needed to enable her to put her economic house in order and to revive trade and agriculture. Thanks to him, then, as well as to Sonnino, equilibrium has been attained between expenditure and revenue, a state of things unknown in the unfortunate interval between 1881 and

1898 when the land was suffering from Crispi's megalomania. Honour is also due to the good-will of the Italian taxpayer, whom Luzzatti called "the most patriotic, the most admirable, and the most patient animal known in financial history." It must further always be borne in mind against what difficulties Italy had to fight in order to put her financial position on a solid basis—for example, the earthquakes in Sicily and Calabria, which cost as much as an unsuccessful war.

Yet undeterred, undismayed, Luzzatti continued on the lines he had laid down for the financial redemption and the economic resurrection of his nation and for the introduction of social legislation which should place her on a level with other modern peoples in all matters relating to the interests of the humbler classes. He is a commercial humanitarian, but no Socialist. He believes that a just balance can be attained between the demands and interests of capital and labour, and he deprecates any class warfare. He maintains that when capital ceases to

be implacable, labour will no longer be ungrateful. To his initiative is due the creation of postal and popular savings banks, the bill for the insurance of workmen against accidents, the old-age pensions fund, the State Commission for emigration, with its local committees for the protection of the emigrant. It was he who created labour treaties to supplement the commercial treaties, of which the first came into force between France and Italy in 1904. Everything seemed to fit into and to proceed from his vast organising intellect; and much is also no doubt due to his Jewish ancestry, for he possesses the alert, keen, intellectual curiosity and rapidity of assimilation characteristic of that ancient race.

As Minister of the Treasury in the Giolitti Cabinet in 1903 he renewed all Italy's commercial treaties, a very labour of Hercules, and was on the point of bringing about the conversion of the State Consols from 5 per cent. to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. after assuring to himself the co-operation of France, when the Russo-Japanese War delayed the operation. He

was, however, able to revive the project in 1906 when he was Minister of the Treasury in the Sonnino Cabinet, though unfortunately that Government fell before he was able to carry it to a conclusion. But Giolitti, who succeeded Sonnino as Premier, recognised the vast importance of the proposal, and, together with his Minister of the Treasury, Majorani, begged him to complete this great work.

The conversion was accomplished, and led to a dramatic scene in the Chamber. Luzzatti, as chairman of the committee, had read his report to the House. After briefly tracing the upward course of the national credit from the time when Italian paper was exchangeable for gold only at 20 per cent. discount, to its actual position when it was worth more than gold, he was about quietly to resume his seat as a deputy (for he was not then in the Cabinet), when the whole assembly rose to its feet and paid him a spontaneous tribute of gratitude and admiration, in which the press and public galleries joined.

This was undoubtedly the proudest moment of Luzzatti's life ; but the tribute was well deserved, and in consequence of this successful operation the King named him Counsellor of State for life.

Having left the Government for the time being, Luzzatti resumed his professorship and lectured on law at the University of Rome, where one of his discourses on liberty of conscience aroused attention even beyond the frontiers of his native land. He further continued the social propaganda for the improvement of the conditions of the poorer classes, begun when he was only twenty-three. He promoted the erection of model dwellings for working men, not only in the large cities but also in small places, such buildings now bearing his name as a token of gratitude to their founder ; he promoted measures in aid of co-operative schemes of every description ; he encouraged afforestation, making the people understand the economic loss to the country of reckless uprooting.

LUZZATTI AS PREMIER

In 1910, after having held the post of Minister of Agriculture and Commerce in Sonnino's second short-lived Cabinet, which was overthrown by Giolitti's machinations, Luzzatti was asked by the King, at Giolitti's instigation, to accept the Premiership. This proposal did not please his followers; they recognised, and rightly so, that he was only being used as stop-gap until Giolitti felt inclined to resume the Premiership, and that he would be hampered in his every action by having to work with a majority which was not with him. And his friends proved right. In 1911, when Italy was about to celebrate her fifty years' jubilee as a united kingdom, Giolitti brought about his fall upon a question of the extension of the franchise, a scheme he afterwards coolly appropriated and passed off as his own with a few trifling modifications.

RETURN TO PRIVATE LIFE

With the modesty and unpretentiousness characteristic of Italian public men, Luzzatti

quietly withdrew from active participation in the Government, though he remained a deputy. But he gave more attention to his scientific and philosophic interests, preached tolerance in and out of season, defended his Jewish co-religionists from calumny and misapprehension, while upholding and lauding Christian ethics, so that even the ultra-clerical papers praised his attitude. He resumed his professorial lectures, and contributed articles to all the principal reviews and newspapers of the kingdom whenever any questions that interested him were on the tapis—above all, questions bearing on finance. Thus when at the time of the Libyan war the *Economist*, echoing some German papers, and doubtless not wholly disinterested in its attitude, declared that Italian finances were “cooked,” Luzzatti dealt eloquently with these unscrupulous critics. In reply to an English statesman who asked what answer could be given to these assertions, Luzzatti wrote: “Reply that Italy has refused offers of loans that have reached her from many sides, and that, just

as her patriotism suffices for herself, so her finances will suffice for this lofty enterprise." Luzzatti has never ceased his patriotic exhortations to induce Italians to contribute in every possible way to consolidate the State Budget and enhance the national credit. At the time of the Libyan campaign he constantly urged that "patriotism should be expressed in money," and he has repeated his exhortations during the present European War with happy results, as was seen when the National Loan was issued.

In private life Luzzatti is modest to a degree. Like all Jews, he is devoted to his family, and regards family life as the basis of well-ordered civil society. He is an indefatigable defender of public and private morality, and while in power he passed a group of hygienic-social laws for the defence of infancy and motherhood, and for the suppression of pornography in all its branches as tending to offend public morals and to corrupt youth. He supported the agitation against the White Slave traffic, and urged the repression of alcoholism. In short, every

project for the amelioration and raising of the masses found a champion in him.

As a writer, Luzzatti has a style all his own; and the same may be said of his oratory. He writes and speaks as though he were preaching, and indeed he regards his activity as a sacred mission. It must, however, be added that his preaching, whether by word of mouth or pen, is never dry or monotonous, but rather persuasive, polished, and enlivened and adorned with apposite quotations and anecdotes. His ardent patriotism, too, is tinged with his deep veneration, for religion is the harmonising principle of his whole being and of all his actions. "How could I act thus," he often replies, "if I did not believe in a future life?" In his outward appearance, too, there is a touch of the prophet and the mystic. His well-chiselled features, softened by his long white moustache and imperial, his fine forehead, his Roman nose, all recall the busts of men of an older day familiar to us in museums; but his eyes flash with a modern youthful vivacity in the shrewdness

of his glance under the heavy brows. To those who visit him he gives a brief greeting and a handshake, and then, without wasting time in useless formalities, enters at once upon the subject in hand. He begins in a confidential, familiar fashion, but then gradually forgets that he is speaking to a single person. The listener becomes to him a crowd of hearers ; he rises, walks about ; more vivid images succeed the simple setting forth of the economic principles, and the figures follow one another through flashes of poetry. He rejoices that he has lived to see this war with Austria, whom he regards as his own private foe as well as that of Italy ; and he follows its vicissitudes with breathless interest. One of the ablest as well as wittiest articles which ever issued from his pen was published in the spring in the *Corriere della Sera*, entitled " L'Abuso del Nome di Dio " ("The Abuse of God's Name"), in which he held up to ridicule but also to condemnation the incessant employment of the name of the Almighty in the telegrams of the Kaiser and the Emperor of Austria, includ-

ing, as he points out, even those to the Sultan! Happily, he adds, this profane mania is restricted to the rulers and has not affected the peoples; and happily, also, the sacred Name has not appeared in the telegrams of the King of England to the Mikado. "The matter really becomes quite comic if up there in heaven the conquerors and the conquered of Lepanto and the soul of John Sobieski are to hear of it!" This in reference to Francis Joseph's absurdly bombastic telegram to his troops. But Luzzatti ends on a more serious note. "Let us save the Almighty from such profanities. Let us leave Him in peace, the Father of all mankind, who punishes guilt and rewards virtue and gives no man the right to represent Him on earth and to abrogate to himself His omnipotence in this world-tragedy."

Such is Luigi Luzzatti, one of the best-known Italian statesmen in Europe.

SALVATORE BARZILAI
MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO

IN the early days of the war a coalition Ministry was proposed also in Italy in view of the exceptional political circumstances, and the names of various possible candidates were freely canvassed. It was thought expedient that in addition to the twelve ordinary members of the Government there should be two or three other Ministers not holding portfolios—men whose special knowledge, experience, or influence in Parliament and the country would strengthen the hands of the Salandra Cabinet. Then after a while no more was heard of the proposal, which was looked upon as superfluous, since there were no dissenting voices to silence, all parties having laid aside their differences in favour of a true and enlightened patriotism,



SALVATORE BARZILAI

Photo G. Brogi

and universal confidence being felt in the present Cabinet. While the subject was on the tapis, however, one of the names most often mentioned was that of Salvatore Barzilai, the last of the true Mazzini followers, the ablest orator of the Extreme Party, to which he has always belonged—in fact, a Republican of the purest dye.

And though the proposed coalition Cabinet did not materialise, Salvatore Barzilai was recently called to the King at the front to kiss hands on his appointment as Minister without portfolio, an appointment which has given general satisfaction. This satisfaction is rooted not in party politics, to which indeed it is foreign, but in the fact that the selection of Barzilai is essentially political, ideal, and symbolic. It is of the nature of challenge to Austria—a solemn, if unspoken, promise to the country that this time there shall be no going back, as in 1866, until Italy is entirely united, until her unredeemed provinces, still groaning under the oppressive rule of the Hapsburgs, have been gathered into the fold of the Mother-

land, until the national aspirations of Italy are satisfied to the full.

HIS YOUTH

Salvatore Barzilai was born at Trieste in 1860. He early showed promise of intellectual ability, of a serious disposition and great determination of character, and attracted to himself those of his fellow-students who shared his fervent patriotism. Despite his youth, he came to be regarded as a leader and a propagandist; his advice was sought, his example followed. Ere long, therefore, he became suspect in the eyes of the ever-watchful and intolerant Austrian police, whose task it was to suppress every indication of such sentiments, no matter by what means, be they fair or foul—the latter, indeed, for choice! These systematic and tyrannical repressive measures had the same effect on young Barzilai as on most of the Irredentists, as the dwellers in the unredeemed provinces are called—that is to say, they strengthened and deepened his Italian sympathies and kindled an indomit-

able desire for liberation from the Austrian yoke. Hence it is scarcely wonderful that at barely eighteen he was arrested on the charge of high treason. It was asserted that he had endeavoured to organise during the wars in Bosnia and Herzegovina an expedition for the liberation of Trieste, with the assistance of some of the young men of the unredeemed provinces and under the auspices of Garibaldi. He was imprisoned first in Trieste, then in Gorizia, and afterwards in Styri, only being brought to trial after a year's incarceration, this trial being, moreover, conducted with all the meanness and injustice of which Austrian malignity is capable. When under examination Barzilai never swerved from his principles, and made a spirited defence of his own conduct and that of his comrades. So manifestly malicious were the accusations brought against them by the police, that, though there could be no question that the youths had conspired against the Government, the jury of Graz, the last court before which they were brought in their

judicial peregrinations, pronounced them "not guilty."

After this acquittal, and in order to escape yet other persecutions which would inevitably have been attempted, and also in order not to be forced to serve in the Austrian army, Barzilai emigrated to Italy, and continued his studies first at the University of Padua and then at that of Bologna. He took his degree in 1882, and then settled in Rome.

In Rome he soon made friends, of whom Zanardelli, then Minister of Justice in the Depretis Cabinet, an advanced Liberal and convinced Irredentist, was the most valuable. About this time Zanardelli founded the newspaper *La Tribuna* with the help of other Liberals, and offered the post of dramatic critic and writer of bright topical articles to Barzilai, who had always been a devotee of the theatre and was delighted to have an opportunity of turning his knowledge of it to account. At sixteen he had indeed wished to become an actor, and offered his services to the greatest actor of Trieste. As they were refused, he consoled

himself by frequently taking part in private theatricals, for which he erected a stage in his own house. On one occasion he acted the part of Paolo in Silvio Pellico's drama *Francesca da Rimini*, before a large audience. In the culminating love-scene he acted with such vehemence that the boards trembled under him and the stage nearly collapsed ! There was present at this performance the Italian Consul-General at Trieste, and young Barzilai, recognising him among the audience, improvised a glowing patriotic greeting in polished verse, which called forth an outburst of enthusiasm among the Italian spectators. Much about the same time Barzilai wrote a play which was performed with great success in the theatre of Trieste, and later on at Padua.

After he had held his post on the staff of the *Tribuna* for some time, he was promoted to be editor of foreign affairs, he having in the meantime made a thorough study of all international questions and problems. Naturally the problems connected with the Irredentist movement occupied a large share

of his attention, although at that time the matter aroused no wide general interest, the moment being neither ripe nor propitious for dealing with it. It was at this time that the Triple Alliance was first concluded, an alliance whose subtly dangerous character Barzilai at once defined, and against which he wrote some powerful leading articles. Side by side with his journalistic labours he also contrived to exercise his profession as a lawyer, in which he was extremely successful. As a journalist he was entrusted with several important investigations which obliged him to travel, the articles written on these occasions showing political acumen, sureness of judgment, and quick grasp of complicated situations. His political polemics caused him to be involved in several so-called affairs of honour, the most famous of his duels being fought with Crispi's sometime Minister of War, General Mocenni, to whom the pacific Barzilai attributed, and not unjustly, no small responsibility for the disastrous campaign whose tragic epilogue was the battle of Adowa.

BARZILAI AS DEPUTY

Austria, although an ally of Italy—an alliance to which she held solely for her own advantage, and with a disloyalty now universally recognised,—never ceased to repress by every means in her power, both openly and secretly, the Nationalist feeling among the population of the Italian-speaking provinces. In 1890, notwithstanding Bismarck's intervention at Crispi's request exhorting Vienna to act with greater moderation and to adopt a more tolerant attitude towards her Italian subjects, an act of still greater aggression took place. The Austrian Government dissolved the Pro Patria Society, which had its headquarters at Trieste and branches in every district of Austria where "unredeemed" Italians were to be found. The ostensible reason for this high-handed action was the adhesion of the Pro Patria to the Dante Alighieri Society, whose aims, contrary to the Austrian assertion, are in no way political, and which merely strives to maintain an intellectual, moral, and histori-

cal tie between Italians dwelling outside the Mother Country and those at home. It was and is presided over by men of the highest integrity and of moderate views, who are incapable of any action which might involve the Government in international difficulties. But Austria would listen to no protests. Meanwhile the dissolution of the Pro Patria Society had caused an anti-Austrian movement in Italy, and it was decided that concrete expression should be given to these feelings. Hence a group of politicians and journalists, assembled at Café Aragno—the Roman headquarters of all dissentients and enthusiasts, where many a plot is hatched and where the political pulse of the country can always be felt,—decided that the best way in which they could give vent to their reprobation was to elect Salvatore Barzilai to the Chamber. Was he not a native of Trieste? Had he not been persecuted by Austria for his pro-Italian sympathies? Was he not an Irredentist who had never ceased to proclaim the need of redeeming the Italian-speaking provinces and giving

to Italy the boundaries traced by nature and language alike, in lieu of the artificial, indefensible ones imposed on her by treaties with disloyal and implacable neighbours? What enhanced the interest taken in Barzilai was the fact that just at that moment a well-known politician returning from Trieste had brought with him the minutes of Barzilai's trial, from which it could be seen with what proud dignity this mere youth had defended himself, saying to the judges: "I willingly accept any sentence you may pass on me rather than justify or attenuate my anti-Austrian convictions." And since it so happened that one of the Roman constituencies was vacant, what more eloquent demonstration of sympathy than to elect him to the seat, thus making him a representative of the very heart and capital of Italy?

At this time Crispi was Prime Minister, and, though he himself had been a conspirator in his youth, in his old age he desired to steer with caution. The creator of the Triple Alliance, which in his heart he never

liked, but which he deemed expedient for Italy at a critical juncture, he wished to avoid so open an insult to one of his partners. He therefore opposed to Barzilai's candidature that of Count Antonelli, a worthy man, just then rather to the front on account of successful negotiations concluded with the Negus of Abyssinia. Thus powerfully opposed, it is wonderful that Barzilai only lost the seat by a few votes, especially as he was then an obscure young journalist.

Some months later a general election took place, and this time Barzilai was returned, it being fully understood by the electors that this candidature signified the solidarity of Rome with Trieste, the brotherhood of all Italians with their fellow-Italians still groaning under the detested Austrian rule. And since that date Barzilai has never ceased to represent Rome in the Italian Parliament, despite the formidable adversaries opposed to him by those who well knew what his election implied. What was not known at the time, but has since transpired, is the fact that Trieste at once grasped the full

significance of this election, and that a secret meeting was held in that city for the purpose of electing Barzilai as their representative.

His first speech was anticipated with some trepidation by his Café Aragno supporters. Could he speak? Was he an orator? No one knew. In all probability he would defend the cause so dear to his heart with vehemence and in the spirit of a *frondeur*. What was their surprise when Barzilai, speaking on the first occasion in reply to the speech from the Throne, revealed himself as a polished, measured, genial debater, discoursing with no undue heat, and carrying away his hearers by the charm of his delivery and the logical compactness of his address. Naturally, in this first speech and ever after he defended the claims of his unredeemed brethren. He referred to the unceasing efforts after Italian unity made by the first Victor Emanuel; how the King had himself stated that Italy did not yet possess the powerful cincture of ramparts bestowed on her by nature; and

he urged that in the reply to the Crown there should be inserted a discreet allusion to the fact that there existed yet another Italian family united to the parent stock by tradition, language, and sentiment, and that whoever offended any member of that family, whether on this side or the other of the frontiers traced by treaties, offended the entire nation.

This speech, which began by annoying the Chamber, after a while carried it away. From that moment Barzilai had won his Parliamentary spurs, and from that day onwards, in spite of opposition in the Conservative camp, Barzilai's position as a deputy and a politician increased in public esteem and in solid value, so that after 1900 his election was never even contested. He was regarded as the embodiment of Trieste and all that city stands for in Italian hearts. It redounds to his honour that owing to the fairness and moderation with which he advocates his cause, and also in part to his equable temper, he has made no personal enemies in all his twenty-five years of Parliamentary

life. Even Giolitti, though differing from Barzilai, respected him, and often confided to him matters which he withheld from his own henchmen.

In the beginning Barzilai, as became a follower of Mazzini, took his seat among the Radicals, whose nominal programme was anti-monarchical—a party led at the time by Cavalotti, a fascinating figure in Italian political and literary life, who was tragically killed in his thirty-second duel. Only later, when the Republicans formed a separate party in the Chamber, did he pass over into their ranks ; always, however, preserving his individual independence of opinion, since there were some portions of the programme of the extreme parties to which he never could nor would subscribe, such as their opposition to military expenditure. He contended that until Italy was really united, and as long as she had perfidious neighbours, the army must be maintained at full strength. This attitude of his was sharply criticised at a Republican congress held in 1912, when his adhesion to the Libyan campaign

appeared to the party as not in conformity with their ideas. Barzilai, on the contrary, realised the importance of the new province, though he grasped the fact that economically it was of small value ; but he saw also that it was necessary for Italy to seize it in order to prevent its falling into the other hands which were ready to annex it and thus with the aid of Turkey to consolidate the dreams of German hegemony. It was then that the first open breach between Barzilai and his party occurred, and it was in consequence of this that he begged the Chamber to accept his resignation of his seat. This proposal was negatived by adversaries and friends alike, and his resignation refused. On this occasion, when the matter was discussed in the House, Antonio Salandra spoke as follows : " During all these years Barzilai has always fought for his ideals, but he has never offended anyone, nor has his conduct been displeasing even to his opponents."

High praise this, especially coming from such a reticent quarter, but well merited.

From the first a pronounced adversary of the Triple Alliance, Barzilai never ceased to combat it both in and out of Parliament. He distrusted the sincerity of the Central Powers from the very beginning, and felt assured that, as later events proved to be the case, Italy was designated to be the victim of the greed of her partners. As early as 1901 he foresaw that Austria in agreement with Germany would annex Bosnia-Herzegovina at Italy's cost, and he recalled the words spoken by Victor Emanuel II. to Crispi when he (the Minister) was leaving for Berlin to confer with Bismarck: "If Austria-Hungary should obtain Bosnia-Herzegovina, we should find ourselves compressed in the Adriatic as between a pair of pincers."

He said again and again that the Triple Alliance was a pact which placed Italy in a position of weakness and inferiority, hindered her from strengthening her defences, and, while bestowing on her a species of apparent tranquillity, really exposed her to great delusions and the gravest peril.

Prophecies that time has shown to be all too true !

It was for this cause that Barzilai, in opposition to the Extreme Parties, always voted in favour of increased expenditure of the army and navy. He knew that it was impossible to gain Trent and Trieste except by force of arms. Nor, though he was nominally a Republican, did he attack or try to subvert existing institutions. His republicanism was rather ideal and theoretical. He never believed that it could be put in practice, seeing the direction taken by Italian political development and how democratic in theory and practice was the monarchy.

Another occasion when Barzilai differed fundamentally from the party to which he nominally belonged was that of the Tsar's visit to Italy, when the Extreme Parties started an agitation to protest against the official reception of this representative of autocracy, whose home policy was naturally abhorrent to them. Barzilai recognised the necessity of conciliating Russia, since sooner or later Italy would have to withdraw from

the Triple Alliance and throw in her lot with the Entente. He realised and expounded to the Chamber on various occasions the insidious clauses contained in that treaty ; he knew how Austria was fortifying the Trentino and preparing her troops to defeat her prospective foe ; he knew and insisted, often to an incredulously smiling Chamber, that Austria was haunted by imperialistic dreams and aimed at the hegemony of the Balkans and the Adriatic.

Fifteen years ago, when Zanardelli formed his first Cabinet under the present Italian King, he asked Barzilai to accept a portfolio ; to this offer Barzilai made answer : "I shall be your most fervent and disciplined follower, but I cannot enter the Ministry."

In this he was logical, as he has ever been. He could support a democratic Ministry, but he could not belong to it. He had vowed himself to a cause, the cause for which he had languished in an Austrian prison—the liberation and redemption of his native Trieste. And the Ministry of that day could not yet touch this burning

question—indeed, was forced skilfully to avoid and circumvent it. The Triple Alliance was still in force, and Italy was not yet sufficiently strong to oppose her Teutonic neighbours. This is why, things being as they are to-day, and Italy being at last engaged in her war of revindication, Barzilai could accept the position of a Minister under the Crown without being in any way false to his ideals. His patriotism has always stood above party considerations ; he was elected deputy to give concrete expression to a protest ; he has been nominated a Counsellor to the Crown now that the long-invoked redemption has become a reality. Thus the Republican of yesterday could honestly and consistently in this solemn hour of Italy's destiny swear allegiance to her King and fidelity to his rule, and no one can reproach him with disloyalty to his convictions.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BARZILAI'S NOMINATION

The significance of Barzilai's appointment as member of the Cabinet did not escape

the keen-witted Italians. They fully grasp that the entry of the deputy for Rome and Trieste into the Ministry is a solemn assurance to the nation that the Government is firmly resolved not to sheathe the sword until the legitimate but long-deferred aspirations of Italy are satisfied. It means, too, that for the moment party politics are merged in national politics ; that there are no longer factions but only Italians in the Chamber and the country alike.

And though he holds no portfolio at present, it is manifest that it will be Barzilai's task to direct the difficult and complex work of establishing and administering the new order in the towns and country districts which are day by day coming once more under the rule of the Motherland—a task for which his great knowledge of the subject peculiarly fits him.

Strange that he should have been called to kiss hands on his appointment actually in the fighting line, within sight of his native Trieste—a coincidence that doubtless escaped neither the King nor his new Minister.

Some weeks before leaving for the front in company with Salandra—a fact that was kept secret, but has nevertheless been bruited abroad—Barzilai called an extraordinary meeting of the Council of the Italian Journalists' Association. At this meeting he resigned (to the great regret of the whole Italian Press) the position of President, which he had held for fourteen years with rare tact and ability. A few days after this resignation a representative group of journalists from all parts of Italy came to Rome and presented Barzilai with an address expressing their regret at losing him, and with a splendid banner embroidered with the heraldic bearings of Trieste, as an act of homage to his person and of faith in the destinies of the Motherland. On this occasion Barzilai made his last unofficial speech, which in itself contained a programme and a promise of yet greater energy in promoting the object to which he had devoted his life—the redemption of his unredeemed brethren.

LEONIDA BISSOLATI

IT has been aptly remarked that the men who in their youth enrol themselves in the Extreme Parties may be regarded as the "athletes of liberty." Such a one is Leonida Bissolati, a while ago deputy in the Italian Parliament, now plain Sergeant Bissolati of the 4th Alpini, recovering from wounds received "somewhere in Austria" in the early days of the Italian campaign, and bearing his sufferings with heroic fortitude. As Patrick Brontë resolved to die standing, so Bissolati insisted that the bullets should be extracted from his side without an anæsthetic, he himself standing with his arms crossed on his breast, a resolute Spartan figure. And, despite the fact that he has never shown lack of moral courage—a quality for which he was, on the contrary,

distinguished,—still, no one familiar with his physiognomy quite looked for such resolution, for Bissolati's appearance is that of the student rather than the man of action. Tall, thin, almost cadaverous of aspect, he might pass for an Indian yogi, while Holbein and Ribera would have delighted in limning features so in harmony with their favourite types. This emaciated-looking person is, however, a vigorous and keen sportsman, untiring in everything he attempts, whether it be cycling, swimming, or Alpine climbing. Indeed, he is a first-rate mountaineer, so that the feats of this kind demanded of Italy's soldiers presented no difficulty to him. It is recorded of him that he loves to ascend some snowy peak and there celebrate in solitude his Christmas or New Year's Day.

Such is the man who is a leading light of Italian Socialism, one of its most fervid apostles, but who nevertheless is now fighting for his country under the Royal banner.

Italian Socialism is far more subtle in its subdivisions, less easy to classify, than most

national Socialist movements. It appeared late in Italy, where for many years there were no great industries and consequently no congenial soil in which it could strike root and thrive. Indeed, a real Socialist party hardly existed before 1891, when Turati started a fortnightly review entitled *La Critica Sociale*, an able paper which at once created a school. "The *Critica Sociale*," wrote a keen political observer, "has endowed almost all of us with a social conscience." Divisions and subdivisions soon made their appearance, ranging from the strict followers of the doctrines of Karl Marx to the adherents of the anarchist theories of Bakounine; but they have ended by being just so-called popular parties, including Radicals and Republicans, and have lately split up once more into what is known as the Reformist section, led by Turati, and the Revolutionists, of whom that political Don Quixote, Enrico Ferri, was for a while the spokesman. The happy accident that anarchy reigned amid the old Parliamentary parties brought about the curious paradox that the Socialists became

the upholders of constitutional rights, for it was they who forced both Parliament and the country to attend to principles and forget personalities. More and more, therefore, the party is losing its revolutionary characteristics ; more and more it is willing to accept existing institutions and to strive after reform from within rather than attempt to achieve it from without by violent and hence always inconclusive methods. In part this is also due to the fact that the monarchy has become democratic and republican ; the monarchy has drawn nearer to Socialism, not Socialism to the monarchy, and thus a working alliance has been made possible. It is an interesting and complex phenomenon, quite distinct from anything that has taken place in France and Germany ; and the difficulties which had to be faced, the moot points which had to be decided, were clearly seen in the pre-war days, when the most advanced section, the most subversive, headed by the revolutionary Mussolini, editor of the Socialist organ *Avanti*, which had preached neutrality *à l'outrance*, suddenly made a *volte*

face and advocated war, more particularly war in favour of France.

The remainder of the party, the so-called official Socialists, for a while continued to preach neutrality, their views being in harmony with those of a section of the lower middle class and of the traders who either feared Germany or had been caught in the meshes of the financial nets she had spread broadcast over the land. But on the day when these recalcitrants grasped that continued neutrality constituted treason to the Motherland, they, with but few exceptions, gave up their peace propaganda and joined in that remarkable outburst of national feeling which will make the last May days of 1915 for ever glorious and memorable in Italian annals.

But already before this occurred some of the most distinguished and intelligent of the Socialist party, and more especially of the Reformist group, had refused their adhesion to the views of the less far-seeing majority, and very bitter and caustic were the polemics carried on in the discussions of the opposing

factions. To the Reformist section, which has been described as "the victory of practical good sense over sterile doctrines," belongs Leonida Bissolati, who has gradually modified his earlier subversive views—thanks to experience of life and to study. He is now convinced that it is easier and more to the advantage of the proletariat to obtain gradual and progressive amelioration of their lot without coming into conflict with the law or with democratic institutions than to attempt to attain these ends as the results of a hypothetical revolution. To this point of view he has, moreover, converted Enrico Ferri, once the Hotspur of the Socialist party, its most brilliant but also its most violent speaker, and the leader of the obstructionist scenes which for a while disfigured the Italian Parliament.

Leonida Bissolati, like so many of the Socialists, is a North Italian, being a native of Cremona, where he was born in 1857. Bissolati is, indeed, not the name of the modest family from which he sprang, this being Bergamaschi; he assumed the surname

Bissolati in memory of the ex-priest Stefano Bissolati, a renowned epigraphist, who brought him up and educated him with the tenderness of a father, and who died only after Bissolati had already passed his thirtieth year and had shown clearly the direction his talents were to take. Like so many able younger Italians, Bissolati studied law at the University and took his degree in that faculty. But the factions outside the law had early attracted him, and even in his student days he belonged to a club professing Republican-Federalist principles which were more or less those advocated by Mazzini. These views, however, he soon abjured in favour of the Marxian creed in all its exclusive severity, writing a number of pamphlets and articles for the purpose of diffusing the Marxian "word" among the Italian masses. It is told that at this time he would spend months in going from place to place on his bicycle preaching the Socialist gospel as he then conceived it. He further founded at Cremona an Agricultural Labourers' Union (Lega di Resistenza) among the peasants of

his native district, for he knew how cruelly they were oppressed by their masters and how unable they were to make their voices heard singly. About the same time he also founded a paper called *Lotta di Classe* (*Class War*). The League was dissolved by Crispi, whose savage repression of all advanced efforts had in 1894 the unlooked-for result of breaking down the exclusiveness that existed among the democratic parties, so that Republicans, Radicals, and Socialists made an open alliance with the object of co-operating on behalf of social and economic reforms, constituting later the so-called parliamentary "Bloc." Thus the stimulus of persecution changed the Socialists into a practical political party. It was then that Bissolati founded the daily paper *Avanti*, which he edited for a long time, as the organ of the advanced parties—a paper which, while under his editorship, was never led into excesses, although it was, of course, devoted to party politics.

In 1895 Bissolati was elected to the Chamber as member for Pescarolo, a small

place near his native Cremona. In Parliament he continued his Socialist propaganda, but his methods were never those of a people's tribune. He employed no fair-sounding, false rhetoric, such as appeals to the masses. His language was calm and aristocratic, though it often rose to eloquence, but he never overstepped the limits of dignity. On occasion he even carried his opponents with him, as for example when he protested in Parliament against the system known as *domicilio coatto* (forced domicile)—semi-penal settlements introduced by Crispi as an amendment to the law of public security, which amounted to a brutal coercion rivalling the methods of Austria in old days. Any person became liable to this *domicilio coatto* who stirred up class hatred in a manner deemed dangerous by the police, whose judgment was not always to be relied on, and who often utilised this power for the gratification of private spite. For example, an inoffensive lawyer was condemned to *domicilio coatto* for singing the "Labourers' Hymn." Bissolati exposed the hardships

and injustices of this system, carrying the majority of the Chamber with him, and the obnoxious law was for a time relegated to its proper place—the punishment of real criminals. However, with the advent to the Premiership of General Pelloux, reactionary methods were again resorted to, and a clause was introduced into the Penal Code which was capable of great latitude of interpretation in the hands of judges who chose to use it against the Socialists or any Labour movement. Against these repressive measures Bissolati led an active and violent campaign ; and when the measure was passed in April 1900 the Extreme Parties left the Chamber in a body as a sign of protest, while the majority voted for the much-debated bill to cries of “ Long live the King ! ” Hearing this, Bissolati, returned to the House, and, standing by the Socialist benches, shouted “ *Abasso il Rè !* ” (“ Down with the King ! ”). It was asserted that he had shaken his fist and cried three times, “ Death to the King ! ” This is incorrect. The King’s prerogative had been abused by reactionary politicians

in order to violate the constitution and the rules of the House ; and it was this that caused Bissolati, stung by the wrongful use of the King's name, to shout as he did. But "Down with the King !" is a very different thing from "Death to the King !" and carries with it no sinister implication. Indeed, it is commonly used in Latin countries to express political hostility. That the act caused astonishment is not wonderful, nor that it was much discussed and misunderstood ; but that it had no connection, however remote, with the murder of King Humbert, which occurred three months later, is clearly proved by implication by the attitude of the present King of Italy with regard to Bissolati.

Meanwhile Bissolati's socialistic views approached more and more closely to those of the Reformist wing of the party. This was no sudden conversion, no change of front, but a logical and gradual revolution, from an intelligent study of contemporary Italian conditions ; for much had changed since the accession to the Italian throne of so modern and intelligent a sovereign as

Victor Emanuel III., who has quietly and unostentatiously exercised a most beneficial influence on the character and destinies of his people, and has drawn the fangs of the most violent upholders of subversive theories. When in the general elections of 1909 the Socialists gained many seats hitherto held by their opponents, Bissolati was elected as member for one of the Roman constituencies, —a really remarkable occurrence. Not that this meant that the majority of the electors were necessarily Socialists, but it implied that they recognised and paid tribute to the lofty character and unusual ability of Bissolati. His election was also an act of protest against the Clerico-Conservatives, who had for many years returned for this constituency a naval doctor, a rabid clerical and adherent of the papacy. In 1911 Giolitti, who was then Premier, offered a portfolio to Turati, who refused, thinking that the time was not yet ripe for Socialists to sit in the Cabinet. Giolitti then offered it to Bissolati. In consequence, before definitely accepting, he was called to audience

with the King, who wished to sound him as to the Parliamentary situation. The interview between the King and the Socialist deputy was long and cordial, and each was favourably impressed by the other. It was, however, an episode which occasioned more clamour than Bissolati perhaps anticipated. To begin with, besides its political significance, which was great, it brought a hornet's nest about Bissolati's ears. The Socialists were indignant that one of their number should have ascended the Royal stairs; and Turati laid down the principle that Socialists should not hold office in an isolated manner, in a Ministry that served a monarchical régime; while Ferri, on the other hand, proclaimed the necessity of taking office even under a monarchy. The extremists denounced his act as a *lèse-plebe*, a treasonable step. The conventional were horrified to hear that, contrary to etiquette, which prescribes a frock-coat and top hat as the proper costume for visits to Royalty, Bissolati had presented himself to his sovereign in his everyday attire of loose grey jacket and

soft wide-brimmed hat. And it was this question of dress on which Bissolati's prospects of a portfolio were wrecked, for he could not be induced to waive his objection to wearing either plain evening dress—he has never possessed a dress suit in his life—or, worse still, the Ministerial uniform obligatory on State occasions. So a sartorial difficulty lost Italy the services of one who would have been an able Minister! And the first to deplore this loss was the King himself, who had been most favourably impressed by Bissolati.

Soon after this incident Italy declared war on Turkey, and the Libyan campaign began. On the whole, the Socialists were in favour of this enterprise, whose political necessity they realised, and showed themselves Italians first and Socialists afterwards. Even some of those who had tried to avert hostilities declared with Salvanini that it was now essential, "whatever sacrifices it may cost, for the country to issue from this enterprise with honour, and that whoever contributes even in the smallest degree to render failure

possible, or rather to render its success less certain, commits an atrocious crime against the Motherland." Bissolati, whose political outlook and knowledge are wider than those of many of his party, grasped all this, and even went so far as to state that he would rather quit the party than change his point of view on the question of the war. Enrico Ferri made the same declaration, and even resigned his seat in the Chamber, to which, however, he was re-elected by an overwhelming majority.

But these acts of what the extremists of the party considered rebellion against discipline led to fierce civil war in the Socialist ranks. At the annual Socialist Congress which met in July 1912 at Reggio Emilia it was resolved formally to expel Bissolati and his followers from the party as guilty of having supported the Government in the war against Turkey, and of having applauded the success of the army and navy, and in the case of Bissolati of having consented to be received in audience by the King. A further accusation was that Bissolati and

some of his friends had gone to the Quirinal and congratulated the King on his escape from Alba's attempt on his life. The debate on all these points was stormy and animated, and lasted several days. Bissolati delivered a well-pondered and dignified speech, in which he pointed out how the Socialists, by the mere fact of allowing themselves to be elected members of Parliament, take part in the government of the country, and that, since it would be folly to wait to take office until an entire Socialist Cabinet could be formed, he thought the right moment had come to accept the invitation to visit the King, to whom he had expounded a programme of social reform which the sovereign had approved. In so doing, he concluded, he had paved the way for some Socialist to form part of the Government. As for his sending greetings to the soldiers fighting in Africa, he contended that it was not true that Socialism is opposed to preparation for war, or the use, when need be, of armed force, or that it despised military valour in a people. This defence availed him nothing,

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and in the end the party, led by Turati, voted by a large majority the expulsion of Bissolati and his followers. On the following day, Bissolati, together with other leading Socialists, including thirteen deputies, constituted themselves into a new party called the Socialist-Reformist party. Their official organ became the *Azione Socialista*, founded and edited by Bissolati, in which he all along advocated intervention in the European war ; and only now that he has exchanged the pen for the sword has he resigned its direction, thus causing action to follow propaganda.

A Tuscan newspaper proprietor, Signor Cristofani, happened to meet Bissolati as he left the Italian Chamber after the memorable sitting when war was decided upon. Bissolati was still under the influence of the exciting scene at which he had been present. Greeting his friend, he said :

“Here in Rome, my dear Cristofani, I have now finished my mission. In a day or two I shall be a simple soldier of the 4th Alpini Regiment, in the midst of the youths

who will defend our country and will fight for the liberation of our oppressed brothers. Who knows if ever we meet again ! ”

“ So you go at once to the front ? ”

“ Certainly,” replied Bissolati. “ I go with one ardent hope—to earn my corporal’s stripes and to witness at close quarters the victories of our army.”

“ But I have heard it said to-day that the Ministry is to be enlarged and that your name is mentioned as a probable candidate.”

“ I know nothing of this,” replied Bissolati ; “ nothing has been said to me. Believe me, I would far rather go and earn my corporal’s stripes facing the enemy in the firing line.”

“ I understand your wish ; but if the Government needed your intelligence and your authority, would you refuse to give it ? ”

“ In this tragic moment,” answered Bissolati, “ the duty of every Italian is to think and act for the good of his country. For my part, I am a disciplined citizen ; I shall obey any command given to

me. The Head of the State, the King, may do what he pleases with me. But . . . I want to become a corporal !”

This brief conversation depicts the man in his entirety, his simplicity and true patriotism. Bissolati had his heart's desire ; only, instead of being made corporal, he was promoted to the rank of sergeant. True, he would rather have gained it for himself on the battlefield ; and when his wounds allow him to return to the front he will do so as an officer, and not the least of the many brave men who are fighting for their beloved mother Italy.

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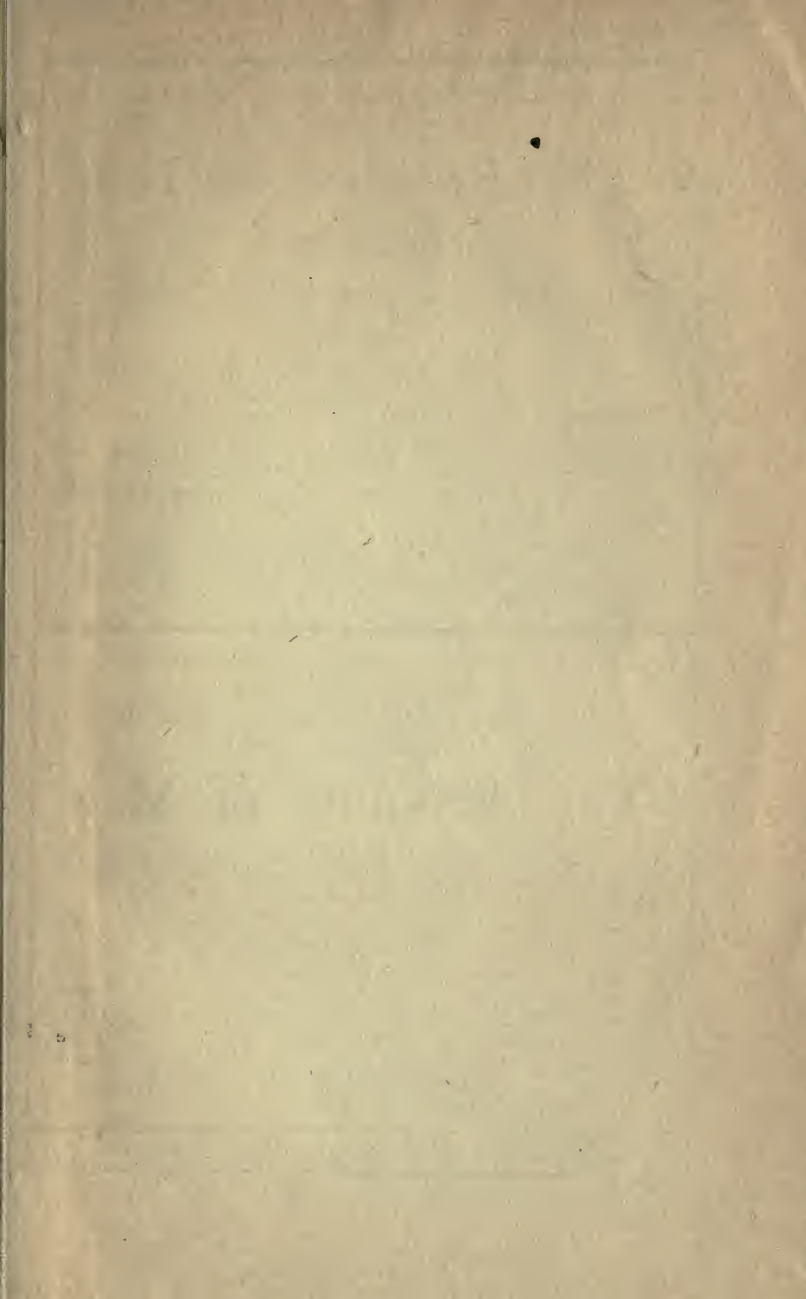
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